FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 037 *23 February 1984*

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

'Soyuz-84' Exercises Scheduled for March AA 1
Purpose of Exercises [MTI] AA 1
TANJUG on Exercises AA 1
Plant Breeding Cooperation Yields 200 New Types AA 1
[Bratislava PRAVDA 15 Feb]

CSCE/MBFR/DISARMAMENT

Soviet Proposal Addresses Weapons Verification BB 1
[Prague Television]
U.S., USSR Hold Nonproliferation Talks in Vienna BB 1
[RUDE PRAVO]
West To Blame for Lack of Progress in Stockholm BB 2
[Prague]
Second Stage of Balkans Conference Assessed BB 3
RABOTNICHESKO DELO View BB 3
[Khlebarova, 15 Feb]
BORBA Evaluation BB 4
[17 Feb]

BULGARIA

Karamfilov Lauds USSR Moves at Army Anniversary C 1
Deputy Foreign Minister on CEMA, East-West Ties C 1
Syrian Ba'th Delegation Continues Visit C 3
Visits TU's, Lays Wreath C 3
Meets Kubadinski, Dyulgerov C 3
Lukanov Discusses Economic Ties in Switzerland C 3

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

UN's Perez de Cuellar Received in Bratislava D 1
Colotka Hosts Dinner D 1
Civil Rights Group's Letter D 2
[DPA]
Strougal Concludes Visit to India 22 February D 2
Leaves India for Burma D 2
Korcak Receives Kosovo Official 22 February D 3
Ministers Depart for USSR, GDR 20 February D 3
Fuel Minister to Moscow D 3
[Bratislava PRAVDA 21 Feb]
Interior Minister to GDR D 3
[Bratislava PRAVDA 21 Feb]

TRIBUNA Warns Against Danger of Dogmatism D 3
[Hrzal, 15 Feb]
'Incorrect' Youth Opinions on Army, Politics D 5
[RUDE PRAVO 17 Feb]
RUDE PRAVO Urges Effort to Preserve Peace D 6
[18 Feb]
Jakes Speaks at Capka Funeral Service 21 February D 7
Fojtik Speaks at Bohemian Regional Meeting D 7

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Honecker, Stoph Greet USSR on Army-Navy Day E 1
Hoffmann, Zaytsev Address GSFG E 1
Hoffmann Speaks at Brotherhood-in-Arms Event E 2
Stoph Meets With Hungarian Minister Pullai E 2
Kiesler, Nicaraguan Minister Assail U.S. Policy E 2
Tisch Meets With FRG TU Delegation 22 Feb E 2
Honecker Greets Zimbabwe's Mugabe on Birthday E 3
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 21 Feb]
SED Officials Address Bezirk Conferences E 4
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Feb]
Security, Interior Ministries E 5
Kessler, Hoffmann Outline NVA Tasks at SED Meeting E 5
Kessler on Defending Peace E 5
Hoffmann Address E 5
Briefs: Cooperation With French Party; E 6
Leipzig Fair Announced

HUNGARY

Continuity of USSR Policy Under Chernenko Viewed F 1
Varnai in NEPSZABADSAG F 1
[18 Feb]
MAGYAR HIRLAP Editorial F 3
[21 Feb]
Varkonyi Hosts Visit of Swedish Foreign Minister F 4
Bodstrom Arrives; Talks Begin F 4
Kadar Receives Swede F 4
Bilateral Relations 'Thriving' F 4
Bodstrom Departs F 5
Leaders Attend Soviet Army Day Ceremony F 5

POLAND

Glemp Cited on Nonpolitical Role of Church G 1
TRYBUNA LUDU Excerpts Chernenko's Statements [14 Feb] G 1
Jaruzelski Address to 15th PZPR CC Plenum G 3
[ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 20 Feb]

Baryla Cited on Army Accountability Campaign G 10
Protein Consumption Above WHO Standard G 10

ROMANIA

Andrei Meets PCE Leader Iglesias in Madrid H 1
Avram, Austrian Trade Official Sign Protocol H 1
RCP Delegation Meets Belgian Walloon Socialists H 1
Parliamentarians Conduct Talks in Denmark H 2

YUGOSLAVIA

NIN on Change in USSR Leadership, Chernenko I 1
[Pesic, No 1729 19 Feb]
Planinc Meets Al-Qadhdhafi, Concludes Libya Visit I 2
Last Day Activities I 2
Talks With Al-Qadhdhafi I 3
Economic, Scientific Protocol I 3
Agreement on Information I 4
Departure From Tripoli I 4
Return to Belgrade I 4
Statement on Visit I 5
Planinc Congratulates Libya's Rajab on New Post I 5
[POLITIKA 18 Feb]
Mojsov Departs New Zealand Following Visit I 6
Markovski Meets Finnish Leaders, Ends Visit I 6
[BORBA 15 Feb]
Milatovic Departs for Latin America Tour I 6
[POLITIKA 19 Feb]
Spiljak Meets New Envoy to Iraq Before Departure I 6
[BORBA 17 Feb]
Milatovic on LCY Failure To Adapt to Conditions I 7
[Vujica in BORBA 14 Feb]
Religious Communities' 'Politicization' Rejected I 11
Kosovo Presidency Views Albanian Irredentism I 13
Briefs: Serb SAWP Candidates I 13

'SOYUZ-84' EXERCISES SCHEDULED FOR MARCH

Purpose of Exercises

LD221059 Budapest MTI in English 1014 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February 21 (MTI) -- The allied Armies and Navies of the socialist countries are to hold joint commanding and comand staff exercises code-named "Soyuz '84" on the territory of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Romanian Socialist Republic, the southwest regions of the Soviet Union and on the Black Sea, in March.

The aim of the exercises is to develop cooperation of the allied Armies and Navies, should joint military action be required.

TANJUG on Exercises

LD222000 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1637 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Bucharest, February 22 (TANJUG) -- Joint military exercises in the territory of Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, the southwestern parts of the Soviet Union and the Black Sea basin will be held next month, it was announced here today, Wednesday. The joint exercises of the Army and Navy commands and general staffs will be called "Soyuz 84", it was said.

It was also announced that "in the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, only the Romanian Army General Staff will participate and the exercises will be conducted on military maps".

The aim of the exercises is to elaborate troop command procedures and cooperation between joint Army and Navy staffs during joint struggle.

PLANT BREEDING COOPERATION YIELDS 200 NEW TYPES

AU161234 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Feb 84 p 2

[CTK report: "Cooperation in Plant Production"]

[Text] The CEMA countries' multilateral cooperation in plant production at present encompasses some 45 crops. It does not concern only exchange of seeds; it also concerns tests of varieties and exchange of genetic material. For example, the CSSR specializes in the production of barley and oats seeds; the USSR in winter wheat, corn, pea, millet, and rice seeds; the PPR in rye and sugar beets; the GDR in seed potatoes; and so forth. The annual volume of mutual deliveries has reached some 250,000 metric tons of seeds. In principle, this enables the partners to cover their import needs. Varieties of grain crops developed by CSSR plant breeders, for example, are being shown every year on about 1.2 million hectares of arable land in the CEMA countries. In the USSR grain crop varieties originating from other CEMA countries are grown on 4 million hectares, and Soviet varieties of winter wheat alone are being harvested from 2 million hectares of arable land in the socialist countries. Special centers were set up to coordinate the cooperation of CEMA countries in selecting and breeding new varieties and breeds. The work of these coordination centers has already yielded some 200 new varieties of grain crops. A broad exchange of varieties is made possible by the system of international tests, which are undergone every year by some 300 varieties and breeds, mostly of grain crops.

SOVIET PROPOSAL ADDRESSES WEAPON VERIFICATION

LD230009 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] [Presenter] Good evening. World agencies report in detail today the supplmentary proposals put forward by the Soviet Union at the disarmament conference in Geneva yesterday. The proposals concern control measures to the draft text of the treaty prohibiting chemical weapons. According to the agencies, this Soviet proposal is aimed at getting the talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons out of the impasse that was reached as a result of the endeavors of some of Western governments. This evening, I contacted the head of the Czechoslovak delegation at the conference in Geneva, Ambassador Milos Vejvoda, and asked him where the significance of the new Soviet proposal lies.

[Begin recording] [Vejvoda] The new Soviet proposal regarding chemical weapons has been met, with full justification, by the extraordinary interest of the world public. Its significance lies above all in that it proposes in a constructive way to resolve one of the most complicated questions concerning the prohibition of chemical weapons: the supervision of the liquidation of existing stocks. Its new feature lies above all in the fact that the Soviet Union has taken into consideration the demands made by its counterparts in the talks, including the Western countries, and has voiced it willingness to agree either to a permanent presence of international supervisors at places where eixsting stocks of chemical weapons would be liquidated -- from the beginning to the end of the process of liquidation -- or to a combination of systematic international inspections and the utilization of controlling technical facilities. This proposal has created a notable and positive potential for further talks on the prohibition of chemical weapons; it is a genuine and not merely demonstrative proof of the Soviet Union's good will and readiness to reach an agreement. The Wesern countries, who have formerly only been talking about the necessity of reaching an agreement, should demonstrate similar good will.

[Presenter] The problem of chemical weapons is not the only question the Geneva conference is discussing. On what other aspects is the conference currently focusing its attention?

[Vejvoda] The most important task of the conference is the adoption of practical measures to prevent a nuclear war from breaking out and to bring about nuclear disarmament in general. Both these issues figures prominently on the agenda, which was adopted several days ago. The agenda includes the elimination of an arms buildup in outer space and prohibition of nuclear-weapons tests. The countries of socialist community are anxious to ensure that the conference discuss all the issues concretely, with the aim to work out drafts of the relevant treaties. In the past few years, the work of the former committee, which was the predecessor of the current conference, degenerated into a mere exchange of views. This year we are resolved not to allow this to happen. Czechoslovakia proposed yesterday on behalf of the socialist group a memorandum at the conference that proposes a specific content for the discussions on all eight items of the agenda. Now we are engaged in discussions on the provisions proposed in our document so that they may become a guidance for the future work of the conference. [end recording]

U.S., USSR HOLD NONPROLIFERATION TALKS IN VIENNA

AU221044 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Feb 84 p 6

[Text] Vienna, 18 Feb (CTK) -- Another round of Soviet-American consultations on problems of the nonproliferation of nuclear arms was held on 16-18 February in Vienna.

During the consultations the two sides exchanged opinions on various aspects of the problem of how to prevent the proliferation of nuclear arms, as well as on issues concerned with preparations for the conference that will be held in 1985 and will be devoted to appraising the efficacy of the treaty on nuclear arms nonproliferation, to the control of exports of nuclear materials, equipment, and technology, and to the increase of effectiveness of the International Atomic Energy Agency's safeguard system.

The two sides agreed to continue the exchange of opinions on nuclear arms nonproliferation issues.

WEST TO BLAME FOR LACK OF PROGRESS IN STOCKHOLM

LD230012 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Antonin Kostka commentary: "Trustfulness or Trust"]

[Text] At one of the recent plenary session of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures in Europe, Constantin Ene, the head of the Romanian delegation, said that he had detected signs of concrete dialogue, which was encouraging. Let us not dwell on how seriously this was meant to be taken or whether this was not rather a diplomatically expressed sarcasm. The fact is that this does not in any way detract from the accuracy of the observation that the outcome of the 5 weeks of deliberations is practically zero. The explanation of why this is true can be found in the course of the conference itself. The speeches and proposals made by the representatives of the NATO countries give the impression -- especially when confronted with the daily practice of their governments -- that they are deliberately confusing terms and that they would like to turn the conference on confidence into some kind of conference on trustfulness. No wonder, therefore, that under these circumstances the conference has been unable to achieve anything more than a sign of dialogue, and that concrete results are not in sight.

For instance, NATO states are demanding, in the name of confidence, regular reports on the structure of the other side's armed forces, on troop deployments, on practically all troop movements and exercises. They are demanding this after describing the attainment of superiority as the main objective of their arms policy, after starting to equip their conventional forces with more modern weapons, after deploying and continuing to deploy new American first-strike nuclear missiles. They are doing all this while continually refusing to follow the Soviet example and pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. In other words, they are demanding that the socialist countries supply them with accurate information about the targets of their first-strike missiles and modernized conventional attack forces.

It is difficult to estimate the degree of blind trustfulness required to comply with such a transparent trick by the West.

Here is another example. One of the measures pushed through in Stockholm by the socialist countries to restore and strengthen confidence is the conclusion of a treaty on the nonuse of force and on lasting peaceful coexistence between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries. The other side has rejected this as unnecessary, referring to last year's NATO Council declaration that NATO's arms will be used only as an answer to an attack. At the same time not many people have forgotten that France, Italy, Great Britain and the United States used their arms on more than one occasion -- in Egypt, Chad, Lebanon, the Malvinas -- not as an answer to an attack but as the first attack, not to mention the use of U.S. arms against Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, and -- the most telling example -- against Grenada. How much naive trustfulness would be needed for us to forget this and be willing to believe mere verbal assurances?

Third, there is this fact: the new record-breaking military budget of Washington and its allies, materializing their determination to continue to increase the arms race in all areas, including outer space, and their intention to continue to rely on the policy of strength and intimidation. Such a policy is in sharp variance with confidence. The intentions of such a policy can only provoke, even among the most trustful people, concern, fear, and mistrust, and therefore can only lead to an arms race. This does not allow any scope either for security or confidence. To put it another way, until the West manifests its willingness to reevaluate honestly its concept of force and intimidation, one cannot talk about confidence but rather about foolish trustfulness. The fact is, of course, that foolish trustfulness is not one of the characteristics of the policy of the socialist countries.

The prerequisite for genuine confidence was once again tellingly demonstrated yesterday by the Soviet Union at the Geneva disarmament conference where it supplemented its proposal on the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons with draft measures on the control and destruction of these weapons, including international on-site supervision. Only such an elimination of the threat of war -- a gradual and mutual elimination of weapons of all kinds under effective international supervision -- only this is a realistic and reliable path toward strengthening international confidence and toward real security.

SECOND STAGE OF BALKAN CONFERENCE ASSESSED

RABOTNICHESKO DELO View

AU161413 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Feb 84 p 7

[Article by Ivanka Khlebarova, Athens correspondent: "The Experts' Meeting From Five Balkan Countries Continues"]

[Text] Athens, 14 Feb -- The meeting of government experts from five Balkan countries continued its work with a review of item two of the agenda regarding the measures for building confidence and improving good-neighborly relations, cooperation, and security in the Balkans.

As Rayko Nikolov, the Bulgarian delegate to the meeting reportedly declared in his statement, the Balkans are a part of Europe and a part of the world, which unmistakably suggests that the general state of international relations exerts and will continue to exert an immediate influence upon the atmosphere in this area. The complicated contradictions of our epoch exist in the Balkans too.

It is a well-known fact that in the relations of individual states, and as regards neighboring countries in particular, there are differences of opinion on certain questions, as well as controversial or unresolved problems. These circumstances, however, should not be overrated. The existence of such problems should not become an obstacle, and their settlement should not be considered a prerequisite for the further development of relations and cooperation among the interested countries. This is the point of view reportedly stressed by the Bulgarian delegate in his statement.

Under the circumstances of the existing international situation, the governments, states, and peoples have no more important and urgent task than that connected with stopping the arms race. In this respect the problem of transforming the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone is emerging in all its topicality and importance. This was reportedly stressed by Rayko Nikolov, who further pointed out that the Bulgarian delegation will submit in detail its point of view on this question at a later stage. The idea of a nuclear-free zone expressed on several occasions by Comrade Todor Zhivkov is of exceptionally great importance.

The implementation of this idea, which is possible only with the joint and well-coordinated efforts of all Balkan countries, will transform the political atmosphere on our peninsula and will open new prospects for understanding and cooperation among the Balkan states likely to further guarantee an increasingly successful development of their relations on the basis of genuine mutual trust. The fact that the majority of Balkan countries belong to two opposed military-political alliances is no obstacle, but rather an additional justification for the transformation of the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone.

The Bulgarian delegate reportedly expressed the opinion that confidence-building among the Balkan states is necessary not only in the political sphere, but also in the military sector. As signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act which have assumed the commitment of contributing to the reduction of military confrontation, these states should implement their efforts in practical experience by contributing to the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in their area. This will certainly contribute to an alleviation of confrontation in general. The Bulgarian delegation reportedly pointed out in its closing statement that the attention of the participants in the meeting should be focused upon implementing the most immediate goals of confidence-building, good-neighborly relations, cooperation, and security in the Balkans.

The Greek press is devoting particular attention to the Balkan meeting by stressing the primary importance attached by the Greek Government to the question of establishing a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans. As to the stand of the other countries, the right-wing opposition daily KATHIMERINI writes that "Turkey's refusal to agree on the question of establishing a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans predetermines the failure of the conference on the issue which is the actual reason for holding this meeting, namely, a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans."

It is quite obvious that the forces which are not interested in a consolidation of confidence-building, good-neighborly relations, and cooperation are trying to create an unfavorable psychological atmosphere at the meeting.

BORBA Evaluation

AU221733 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Feb 84 p 7

[Text] Athens, 16 Feb (TANJUG) -- The last 2 days of the meeting of the Balkan countries' experts in Athens -- which will be concluded tomorrow -- were dedicated to the exchange of opinions about the ways and means of transforming the Balkans into a zone without nuclear arms and about the forms for continuing the multilateral dialogue of Balkan countries.

Former sessions were dedicated -- in an atmosphere of openness and mutual understanding -- to the assessments of economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation in the Balkans up to now and to the development of bilateral and multilateral cooperation in agriculture, the agricultural processing industry, transports, and communications.

The results achieved so far were assessed as modest, and the prospects for expanding and enriching cooperation in these fields as very favorable.

Greek, Yugoslav, Romanian, Turkish, and Bulgarian delegations have concluded that the Athens meeting marked the beginning of the process of opening up wider cooperation in many domains.

Program of the Meeting

As was pointed out, this is the first time that the governments of Balkan countries have begun to exchange opinions on the military aspects of security and on measures for strengthening confidence -- the questions which hitherto were considered "taboo" in the talks of this region's representatives.

The view generally held is that the topics on the agenda offer the possibility for coordinating the Balkan countries' program of continuing efforts to elaborate the idea of the Balkans as a zone of peace and cooperation without nuclear arms and for gradually turning the idea into reality.

The Greek Government has suggested -- and that program of the meeting has been adopted in principle -- that what should follow the meeting of experts is a session of high government officials and, finally, a conference of heads of states and governments at which the ways to begin the process of the denuclearization of the Balkans would be established.

Yugoslavia is of the opinion that it is in the Balkan peoples' vital interest that they found their mutual relations upon the strict respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of borders, non-interference and nonuse of force, as well as upon the right of every country to its own identity and free internal socioeconomic development. With a view to ensuring such relations, Yugoslavia assesses the idea of creating a denuclearized zone on the Balkans as significant, supports it, and has always offered support to forming such zones in Africa, Central America, Europe, and everywhere this question was broached by interested countries.

The Yugoslav Government also thinks that banning the movement and large concentration of armed forces along borders, preventing further accumulation of conventional arms, and eliminating nuclear arms represent an integral part of any true effort for achieving peace and security in the Balkans or in any other region.

The Inclusion of Everyone

However, the denuclearized zone can become a reality only if it includes the entire Balkan region and also remains open to other countries. At the same time, it is necessary that that zone be recognized and accepted by the great powers.

Yugoslavia advocates banning the use of force in relations among Balkan countries, continuing strengthening and furthering mutual trust, not recognizing territorial claims founded upon so-called historical arguments, that is, "historical rights," which represent a factor of instability in this region, and respecting the rights of all peoples, nations, and nationalities in the Balkans.

The proposal on the denuclearization of the Balkans is also supported by the governments in Bucharest and Sofia, although it seems that they have different views about the ways and methods for realizing this idea. Turkey, as its official representative stated 2 days ago, thinks that the security in the Balkans can be realized only within the framework of the entire European Continent.

KARAMFILOV LAUDS USSR MOVES AT ARMY ANNIVERSARY

AU221917 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Sofia Feb 22 (BTA) -- With a solemn meeting today the 66th anniversary of the Soviet Army and the Navy was marked here.

"The peoples of the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community are calm and sure because peace and socialism are guarded by the invincible Soviet Army, which in rallied ranks with the fraternal armies of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty is capable of curbing every aggressor," stressed Col. Gen. Boris Karamfilov, deputy minister of national defence in his report.

The reactionary and imperialist circles are preparing themselves for a direct war against the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community. Of late the United States are resorting more and more often to armed force in an effort to achieve their hegemonic aims. A proof of this are the incursions against Grenada, the actions of the United States against Nicaragua and the countries of the Caribbean Basin and the Middle East, said the speaker.

Boris Karamfilov noted that it is the fault of the United States that the danger of regional war conflicts becoming wars which may entail exceptionally hard consequences for peoples, was growing. The measures adopted by the Soviet Union are necessary to guarantee military balance, which the militaristic forces of the United States and NATO are seeking to disrupt it in their own favour, he stressed.

"Under the contemporary conditions the constant growth of the military might of the Soviet Army holds enormous significance for the defence of the socialist community and for the preservation of peace in the world. It secures a lasting balance of forces and this is the basic guarantee for the security and safety of mankind", said Boris Karamfilov.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 22 February, in a report on the solemn meeting devoted to the Soviet Army anniversary, adds that the following persons were in attendance: "Dobri Dzhurov, Milko Balev, Georgi Atanasov, Dimitur Stoyanov, Leonid Grekov, Soviet ambassador to Bulgaria; Colonel General Vladimir Yakushev, representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces attached to the Bulgarian People's Army, and the military attaches at the embassies of the socialist countries to Bulgaria."]

DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER ON CEMA, EAST-WEST TIES

AU220925 Sofia BTA in English 0810 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Sofia, Feb 22 (BTA) -- Mr Mariy Ivanov, Bulgaria's first deputy minister of foreign affairs, assesses the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance as the most dynamically developing economic system in the world. He told a BTA representative that the pledge for future, ever greater successes of the community countries in the economy, science and technology, is the further consolidation of their unity of action.

According to Mariy Ivanov, the activating and deepening of the cooperation among the fraternal socialist countries in today's complicated international situation is of enormous economic and political importance. Moreoever, there are no obstacles to this since the international socialist division of labour is based on the unity of ideas and ends.

The interviewed said that the attempts by the most reactionary imperialist circles at destroying the material foundations of detente, at undermining the East-West economic relations, are part of an extremely short-sighted and perilous global policy. The USA and its NATO allies are after military superiority.

The first deputy minister of foreign affairs emphasized: "The started deployment of new medium-range U.S. missiles in Western Europe, the stepped up rearmament and further armament of the developed capitalist countries, can lead the world to the brink of a nuclear conflict. A direct result of these militaristic steps will be the revival of the cold war, with all the perilous aftermaths derived from it."

Mr Mariy Ivanov pointed out that Ronald Reagan's administration and the governments of some other Western countries have begun an intensive politicization of the economic and techno-scientific relations between the CMEA states and the industrialized capitalist states. They are trying to make use of the economic relations in order to exert political pressure, to weaken the cohesion of the socialist community countries by trying to pursue a differentiated economic policy towards them. They are also launching the absurd allegation that the East-West economic cooperation was in favor of the East only, that the East was using the access to the Western technologies in order to rearm and that the CMEA states' economic and techno-scientific development nearly depended only on the "good will" of the West to cooperate with them.

In this line of thinking the world reaction is also following the logically wrong conclusion, namely: If the East-West economic relations are restricted, the economic development of the socialist countries will be delayed, the interviewed said. He stressed the fact that by no means all business and public circles in the West share this unrealistic policy. The very aftermaths of the embargoes vis-a-vis the socialist countries are fueling the doubts in the effectiveness of this kind of policy. The West has been recently able to become convinced in the fact that the interests of the United States are mainly affected. The realistically-minded politicians and businessmen in the West are well aware of the obvious exaggerating of the role of the Western technologies for the economic development of the socialist countries, Mr Mariy Ivanov stressed.

The first Bulgarian deputy minister of foreign affairs noted the lack of future for the machinations of the West in the sphere of economic relations with the socialist states, but also the fact that this does not render them less harmful, he said.

Stressed Mariy Ivanov: "Taking these facts into account, the CMEA member-countries are developing their production and techno-scientific potential in such a way as not to place its efficiency in a position to depend on the import from the Western states." He added that the integrational processes in the CMEA network ensure the necessary economic base to strengthen the defense capacity, the political unity and cohesion of the socialist community countries.

The interviewed said that thanks to her participation in the CMEA Bulgaria had overcome the economic backwardness for a relatively short historical period of time. A powerful industry and modern agriculture were created. Bulgaria is an illustration of how a small country, with poor natural reserves, can, thanks to her socialist integration, rank among the world's developed countries.

"There are no miracles", Mr Mariy Ivanov said. "There is only work, fraternal mutual assistance within the CMEA, there is mutually advantageous and equitable cooperation taking into account the national interests of each state."

Mr Mariy Ivanov also gave certain facts attesting to Bulgaria's economic upsurge. 35 years ago, when the CMEA was set up, this country did not export any mechanical engineering output, while today it makes up 55 percent of all deliveries. At present Bulgaria is one of the world's ten first countries in the manufacture of 11 industrial products. As result of the specialization and joint production in Bulgaria there have been developed a number of advanced branches such as electronics, robotics, the chemical industry. Bulgaria holds the highest relative share of her foreign trade within the CMEA compared to all of CMEA's members. "Bulgaria's participation in the CMEA is strengthening the economic and hence the political foundations of socialism in the country, is promoting its international authority," Mr Mariy Ivanov stressed. In conclusion the first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria said that, naturally, the socialist countries are having difficulties on the way to build the new society, because they are resolving unique socio-economic tasks. And it must be made clear that both in the past and in future, the CMEA member-countries will not rely on the world reaction in resolving their own problems.

SYRIAN BA'TH DELEGATION CONTINUES VISIT

Visits TU's, Lays Wreath

AU221527 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] The members of the Syrian Socialist Ba'th Party delegation led by Abdallah al-Ahmar, deputy secretary of the party, today visited the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council where they were welcomed by Petur Dyulgerov, BCP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and chairman of the Trade Unions Central Council. The delegation members later laid a wreath at the mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov, the leader and teacher of the Bulgarian people and eminent figure of the intenrational communist and workers movement. Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, also attended the ceremony.

Meets Kubadinski, Dyulgerov

AU221705 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Comrades Pencho Kubadinski and Petur Dyulgerov received individually the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party delegation led by 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, assistant secretary general of the party, which is visiting Bulgaria. During the talks the good relations existing between Bulgaria and Syria were emphasized and the Bulgarian principled stand in support of the just cause of the Arab peoples was pointed out.

LUKANOV DISCUSSES ECONOMIC TIES IN SWITZERLAND

AU222059 Sofia BTA in English 1650 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Bern, Feb 22 (BTA) -- At the invitation of the vice president of the Swiss Confederation and chief of the Department for National Economy, Mr Kurt Furgler, a Bulgarian economic delegation led by the deputy chairman of the Ministerial Council, Mr Andrey Lukanov, is paying an official visit to Switzerland. The official talks dwelt on issues concerning the economic relations between Bulgaria and Switzerland, as well as on other issues of mutual interest for both countries. The programme of the Bulgarian delegation provides for visits to Swiss firms, meetings with representatives of the business world in Switzerland. In Bern the fifth session of the Joint Bulgaro-Swiss Commission for Economic Cooperation opened. The Bulgarian delegation to the session is led by Mr Georgi Pirinski, deputy minister of foreign trade and the Swiss -- by Mr Benedikt von Charner.

UN'S PEREZ DE CUELLAR RECEIVED IN BRATISLAVA

LD222005 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Javier Perez de Cuellar, the United Nations secretary general, arrived in Bratislava this afternoon, accompanied by Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs. Shortly after his arrival, the United Nations secretary general was received in Bratislava Castle by Peter Colotka, deputy federal prime minister; and by Viliam Salgovic, chairman of the Slovak National Council.

In his speech Viliam Salgovic expressed recognition of Javier Perez de Cuellar's meritorious activity as United Nations secretary general for the benefit of understanding and peaceful cooperation among nations. He briefed him on the history of Slovakia and its unprecedented development during the years of socialist construction. Viliam Salgovic went on to stress that the supreme interest for the foreign policy of our state is to defend world peace. He assured the United Nations secretary general of our full support for the noble aims of this most important international organization.

Javier Perez de Cuellar spoke with appreciation about cooperation between the Czech and Slovak nations, which, he said, could serve as an example of co-existence for all United Nations members. He also singled out the fact that nuclear energy is being used in Czechoslovakia exclusively for peaceful purposes. Javier Perez de Cuellar went on to recall the urgency of the tasks of achieving nuclear disarmament and expressed appreciation for the fact that the Czechoslovak government and people are in the forefront of those who are struggling against war.

Afterward, the UN secretary general viewed representative halls of the Bratislava Castle. In the concert hall he heard a concert of leading soloists of the Slovak national theatre opera company.

Colotka Hosts Dinner

LD222300 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2200 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Peter Colotka, deputy federal premier and Slovak premier, and Zdena Colotkov, have given a festive dinner in honor of UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar. Present at the dinner was Viliam Salgovic, chairman of the Slovak National Council, Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, and other personalities of our political and public life.

In his toast Peter Colotka said that the existence of the UN as an instrument of peace and security is no less justified now than at the time of its foundation. He praised the effort made by the UN secretary general to deepen the activity of this international organization so that it successfully fulfills the noble ideals it set itself in its charter.

In his reply UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar voiced gratitude for the words of appreciation addressed to the United Nations and said that they will inspire him in his further work. He said that the current development of Czechoslovakia testified to the talent of its people. It demonstrated what achievements can be attained by nations jointly if they cooperate closely, and united, and have the same goal. He underlined that Czechoslovakia serves as an example to those states in the world where nations do not succeed in living next to each other in peace and understanding.

Civil Rights Group's Letter

LD221111 Hamburg DPA in German 1027 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Vienna, 22 Feb (DPA) — The Czechoslovak civil rights movement "Charter 77" has complained to UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar about the "illegal and arbitrary persecution" of its members. De Cuellar was in Prague until today on an official visit.

Informed exile circles in Vienna said today that, in an open letter to the secretary general, civil rights activists regretted that it was not possible for them to meet and inform him about the "true public opinion" in the country. In the first 7 years of its existence, "Charter 77" has always acted within the framework of the law.

Whether the letter will reach Perez de Cuellar remains an open question.

STROUGAL CONCLUDES VISIT TO INDIA 22 FEBRUARY

LD221441 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal is spending his second day on an official friendly visit to the Republic of India. This morning he viewed Nehru Memorial Museum, which is a building where Jawaharlal Nehru, the first prime minister of independent India, lived during the fifties and the sixties. Lubomir Strougal viewed the exhibits with interest, especially period photographs and documents showing the history of the national liberation movement in India, as well as the role played in it by Jawahrlal Nehru, his father Motilal, and his fellow fighters.

After a brief meeting with Mohammad Hidayatullah, Indian vice president, Lubomir Strougal left for the factory Bharat Electronics near the capital of Delhi, which is the most advanced of its kind in the country. In the enterprise for the production of electrotechnical equipment there are machines delivered within the framework of Czechoslovak cooperation with India, which are working successfully.

Indian President Giani Zail Singh gave a festive lunch at midday in honor of Lubomir Strougal. In the afternoon the Czechoslovak premier will depart by air for Agra, where he will view significant monuments of Indian medieval architecture.

Leaves India for Burma

LD230930 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 23 Feb 84

[Text] India — Lubomir Strougal, federal premier, today ended his 3-day official visit to the Republic of India and left by air for Burma. Seeing off Lubomir Strougal and his entourage at the airport were Indira Gandhi, prime minister; members of the Indian Government and the diplomatic corps; representatives of political and public life; and Czechoslovak citizens working in Delhi.

Prior to his departure by air, Lubomir Strougal granted an interview to Indian television and radio. He highly praised the standard of Indian-Czechoslovak relations, the progress made by India since his last visit to this country in 1974, as well as its active role in international politics, particularly in the Nonaligned Movement. Lubomir Strougal designated the main task of the present to be working for disarmament and peace, and he praised the broad identity of views achieved during his talks with Indira Gandhi.

KORCAK RECEIVES KOSOVO OFFICIAL 22 FEBRUARY

LD221401 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Josef Korcak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech premier, received in Prague today Imer Pulja, chairman of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo Executive Council. They discussed relations between the two countries and possibilities for their development, above all in the economic sphere. Taking part in the conversation with the Yugoslav guest was Svatopluk Potac, deputy federal premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission.

MINISTERS DEPART FOR USSR, GDR 20 FEBRUARY

Fuel Minister to Moscow

AU221119 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Feb 84 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] A delegation of the staff of the Federal Ministry of Fuel and Power Industry, led by Minister Vlastimil Ehrenberger, departed from Prague yesterday for the USSR. There it will discuss with the Soviet partners deepening cooperation in the sphere of gas industry; expanding cooperation in the construction of the transit system of gas pipelines and gas industry facilities; and the issues of natural gas deliveries from the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia.

Interior Minister To GDR

AU221121 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Feb 84 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] Vratislav Vajnar, CSSR minister of interior, yesterday departed for the GDR for a friendly working visit. During his stay there he will be discussing issues of further cooperation in the sector of security policy of the two fraternal countries with the leading representatives of the GDR's Ministry of State Security and the GDR's Ministry of Interior.

TRIBUNA WARNS AGAINST DANGER OF DOGMATISM

AU171746 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 7 of 15 Feb 84 pp 8-9

[Ladislav Hrzal article: "Two Sides of a Bad Coin"; uppercase passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] A SOBER, LENINIST ANALYSIS OF THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE MASSES, A REALISTIC LOOK AT FACTS, WITHOUT DENIGRATION, BUT ALSO WITHOUT EMBELLISHMENT, A CREATIVE, BOLD, OPTIMISTIC LOOK AT THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE -- THIS IS THE PREREQUISITE FOR IDEOLOGICAL WORK TO BE SUCCESSFUL, ATTRACTIVE, AND CONVINCING. DOGMATISM -- THE REPETITION OF OLD TRUTHS REGARDLESS OF NEW REALITIES -- IS AT TOTAL VARIANCE WITH THIS REQUIREMENT.

Dogmatism Versus Marxism

In Marxist-Leninist philosophy, dogmatism is at variance with the very essence of Marxist-Leninist thought, with dialectic materialism, and with creative, revolutionary workers movement it represents a certain specific form of deviation from Marxism-Leninism which, at first glance, is the opposite of revisionism. In fact, what is involved is the "other side of the same coin."

THE ESSENCE OF DOGMATISM IN MARXIST-LENINIST IDEOLOGY IS THAT IT TEARS THE CORRECT IDEAS OF THE CLASSICISTS OF MARXISM-LENINISM AWAY FROM CONCRETE CONTENTS AND FROM THE CONTEXTS IN WHICH THEY WERE FORMULATED. IT MAKES OF THEM ABSTRACT FORMULAS TO BE VALID WITHOUT CHANGE FOR ALL TIME.

INSTEAD OF STUDYING LIVING REALITY, DOGMATISM -- UNDER REALITY'S MERCILESS PRESSURE -- DEVOTES ITSELF TO PERFECTING FORMULAS OF THOUGHT, TO BE ABLE -- WITH THEIR HELP -- TO EXPLAIN REALITY BETTER. However, by doing this it makes the individual torn-out-of context precepts of Marxist-Leninist theory more abstract, less living, and more distant from reality. It conducts a de facto revision of that which is most fundamental in Marxist-Leninist theory: It substitutes metaphysics for dialectics.

Dogmatism makes a fetish of a consummate theoretical system, which it regards as given for all time, as concluded, as not to be further complemented and changed. It interprets new facts from the viewpoint of this system, and instead of studying the facts it goes about self-servingly improving it. And that becomes the substitute for a real study. The dogmatists presume that they can understand reality better by perfecting the theoretical system. These attempts, of course, end in abstraction, formalism, playing with words, and are only a domain for subjectivism. The main shortcoming of such theoretical works, no matter how well meant, is the transformation of a concrete truth into an abstract, absolute truth. IN THIS MANNER DOGMATISM GETS A VARIANCE WITH REALITY, WITH LIFE, WITH THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE MARXIST-LENINIST INTERPRETATION OF TRUTH.

The Role of Subjectivism

Dogmatism retards the development of scientific, Marxist-Leninist thinking, vulgarizes socialism as a science, and obstructs the application of the critical method of dialectic materialism. This was exploited by some "innovators" -- by absolutizing some new aspects of reality -- to preaching arbitrary, objectivist notions about the development of socialism. THE PRACTICE OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT, ITS DEVELOPMENT AND ITS EXPERIENCE FROM THE STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM AND DOGMATISM HAVE TELLINGLY SHOWN THAT BOTH REVISIONISM AND DOGMATISM HAVE A COMMON DENOMINATOR -- SUBJECTIVISM. Both these extremes and deformations of scientific thinking lead to the emasculation of the revolutionary core of the teaching of the revolutionary workers class. The struggle against them is the more complicated, because the first, as well as the second, deviation in the workers movement has been estranging the workers from Marxism in the name of "loyalty" or of the "development" of Marxism.

A dogmatist "kills" any bold idea that he does not find in the letter of Marxism as "revisionist" and "anti-Marxist." A revisionist, on the contrary, presents as a "creative" development of Marxism even ideas and views that often rest on solitary facts or facts selected at random. Therefore a success in the struggle against revisionism can be achieved only on the basis of developing science in the current struggle against dogmatists, who stick to formulas paralyzing science, thus providing fertile ground for revisionism.

Revisionism as well as dogmatism deviates from the scientific interpretation of communism. Therefore a struggle against them can be successful only if waged from principled positions on the basis of correctly generalized conclusions stemming from an analysis of reality. A SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE AGAINST DOGMATISM MEANS TO CREATIVELY DEVELOP MARXISM-LENINISM. THIS REQUIRES, ABOVE ALL, THOROUGH MASTERY OF THE THEORY OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND CREATIVE STUDY OF THE CLASSICISTS OF MARXISM, BUT AT THE SAME IT ALSO REQUIRES CLOSE TIES WITH PRACTICE AND ANALYZING THE HISTORICAL COURSE OF EVENTS.

The Touchstone of Correctness

Only a theory that proceeds from reality is of importance to practice. Only an ideology that proceeds from reality in its entire contradictory nature, with all its positive and negative aspects, is capable of exposing the objective laws of social development, is capable of anticipation, and does not fall into a simplifying, straightforward, conflictless interpretation of developments. That is why isolation from practice and specialized sciences is so harmful for Marxist ideology. And the danger of this harm increases wherever a really profound knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and the necessary practical-political revolutionary steeling of cadres is lacking.

'INCORRECT' YOUTH OPINIONS ON ARMY, POLITICS

AU211412 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] Prague, 16 Feb (CTK) -- The joint session of the CSSR Union for Cooperation With the Army [SVAZARM] Central Committee, its Czech Central Committee and its Slovak Central Committee, which was held this Thursday in Prague, dealt with the elaboration of conclusions adopted by the Seventh All-State SVAZARM Congress.

In his speech Lieutenant General Vaclav Horacek, chairman of the SVAZARM's Central Committee, called the mobilization of all 11,081 basic SVAZARM organizations in the CSSR the decisive link in realizing the conclusions adopted by the Seventh All-State Congress. The share of basic organizations in shaping the correct political way of thinking and the paramilitary awareness of youth is becoming particularly prominent. Above all, we need patient, specific political work with conscripts, among whose ranks there appears quite a number of incorrect opinions on the current international situation, as well as on the performance of basic military service.

The Seventh All-State Congress also emphasized SVAZARM's share in fulfilling the tasks connected with the scientific-technical advance and with the polytechnical education of youth. It is imperative that the number of members involved in specialities with an emphatically technical orientation, such as electronics, increase. The current participation of about 15 percent of members in this speciality cannot be considered the highest possible, Lt Gen Vaclav Horacek stated.

In basic organizations, the successful realization of all tasks depends on the good standards of their internal life. This will be enhanced by the exchange of membership cards that is being prepared, which will provide management bodies with an opportunity to acquire a precise picture of the situation in basic organizations and of the members' opinions on, and suggestions for, developing SVAZARM activities. In their discussion speeches the SVAZARM members spoke of the experience acquired in management work in the SVAZARM's district and regional committees, and, among other things, emphasized the necessity of handing over the experience of active basic organizations to the passive ones.

They dealt with the issues of mass political work, which is an inseparable part of the SVAZARM's ideological influence; with enhancing the role of basic organizations in the management of training centers for conscripts; as well as with the traffic education of SVAZARM members, who are training more than 230,000 drivers annually in voluntary classes and who take part in the traffic education of school children on SVAZARM's 60 children's traffic playgrounds.

RUDE PRAVO URGES EFFORT TO PRESERVE PEACE

AU211354 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Feb 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Build the Fatherland, You Will Strengthen Peace"]

[Excerpts] There is, perhaps, not a single person in our country who would not like to live and work in peace. This is a simple wish. Perhaps even an ordinary wish. But it is exactly in this simplicity and ordinariness that its greatness lies. Peace cannot be attained by prayer or by begging, it must be purposefully pursued by everyday effort; we must strive for it every hour, every minute. Peace must also be vigilantly guarded; the potential attacker must not be let out of sight for a moment. Today this is twice as valid — not for a single moment can we remain deaf to the fact that a mere 200 km to the west of our borders the American Army is deploying first-strike nuclear devices, about which there is not the least doubt that they are aimed against the socialist countries, against us, against you, against our children. No. We can remain neither deaf, nor blind to this.

The new American missiles in Western Europe bring with them a realistic threat to peace in Europe and in the world. And our republic cannot watch this threat passively -- on the contrary, from the newly emerged situation it must draw the necessary, urgent conclusions; it must ward off the possible risks of the current development and consolidate its defense ability, comprehensively and hand in hand with all states of the Warsaw Pact.

The well-known Gottwald slogan "Build the fatherland, you will strengthen peace" is twice as valid today. In the spirit of this slogan the party, the trade unions, our youth union, and the other National Front organizations at the beginning of the fifties waged a fight for fulfilling the construction tasks. The significance of this slogan has not changed in the least.

The Czechoslovak Republic has become a stabilized, orderly home of what has today become more than 15 million people. Neither the strikes of the unemployed, nor poverty, nor hunger are threatening us.

But the world bourgeoisie would like to see us on our knee, either begging with hat in hand, or helplessly sitting, as at the time of Munich, in the antechambers of the "council of the wise" which would discuss us in our absence. But they can no longer play any such degrading game with Czechoslovakia. This is what our people definitely decided in February 1948.

The international position held by our republic is firm and clear. It is consolidated, today and every day, through the unity and cohesion of the socialist community, as well as through the results of our work. Not a day passes without our hearing about new initiatives of the people, of individuals, collectives, or plants. This is the specific answer given by specific people in fulfilling the goals of the party's economic policy. It is only with honest, highly efficient, economic, and good work that we can contribute to strengthening our country and preserving lasting peace in the world. The tasks we are resolving today are becoming increasingly complicated. But everyday life shows that even the most complicated tasks can be resolved in time if the collective that they directly concern is truly interested in them.

The people's initiative has always been the great treasure of the socialist society -- a golden treasure that can never be exhausted, in the same way that human longing for peace and for a life that would contain only arable fields and never battlefields, cannot be exhausted. The one is preciously merged with the other, the one is as necessary today as the other. This is the equation in which everybody has his place, and which counts on the contribution of every person. The greater this contribution is, the better.

JAKES SPEAKS AT CAPKA FUNERAL SERVICE 21 FEBRUARY

LD212047 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 21 Feb 84

[Text] The urn containing the ashes of Comrade Miroslav Capka, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission and deputy of the Chamber of the People of the Federal Assembly, was interred in the National Memorial on the Zizkov in Prague today. In the columbarium of the National Memorial wreaths were laid by a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee and the Central Control and Auditing Commission, consisting of Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission, and Eugen Turzo, its deputy chairman.

Comrade Milos Jakes singled out the important contribution of Miroslav Capka to the realization of CPCZ policy and the development and improvement of party work, his honest and selfless work in building an advanced socialist society. After the speech Comrade Milos Jakes placed the urn containing Miroslav Capka's ashes into the place of interment in the memorial wall, the final resting-place of the outstanding figures of our political and public life.

FOJTIK SPEAKS AT BOHEMIAN REGIONAL MEETING

LD222143 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] The West Bohemian regional committee of the CPCZ discussed at its meeting in Plzen the fulfillment of the conclusions of the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and topical tasks in ideological and political-educational work. The regional party organization achieved good results during the past 4 years in improving gradually the quality of mass-political work and increasing its effectiveness and greater readiness to react to urgent economic, political, and educational demands. On the other hand, certain weaknesses persist. The party organization has not yet been successful in integrating more consistantly ideological work with the party's political-organizational and directing activity. Economic education in particular is not convincing or understandable enough.

Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, said in his speech that it is necessary to link firmly ideological work with the tasks the party is tackling in the national economy and other areas of life in our society. This activity must be directed above all toward ensuring that the working people support actively, out of their inner conviction, the party's policy, and conduct themselves in the spirit of socialist ideas and principles. He stressed that the time requires that we improve the organization of this work and particularly take care about the standard of its content. In the present conditions, we must orient ourselves toward a further sharpening of the struggle for the thinking of people and their reason and hearts. Our main trump card is in the socialist system itself, organically linked with the peace policy. Comrade Jan Fojtik stressed that it is necessary to improve, protect, and strengthen this sytem, and in this spirit also to develop ideological work with a high degree of responsibility before the people.

HONECKER, STOPH GREET USSR ON ARMY-NAVY DAY

LD221927 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1808 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 22 Feb (ADN) -- Even while the militant policy of the most aggressive circles in the United States and NATO poses a growing threat to world peace, the Soviet Armed Forces are reliably fulfilling their peace mission. This is stated in a telegram of state sent by Erich Honecker and Willi Stophi to Soviet leaders Konstantin Chernenko and Nikolay Tikhonov on the 66th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. The telegram continues: "Not to permit the shift in the military balance in favor of imperialism, which the siting of U.S. first-strike weapons in West Europe is intended to achieve, and to rebuff vigorously the policy of intensified military confrontation are profoundly in accordance with the desire of the peoples. The power and strength of the Soviet Union and the socialist community as a whole and their consistent policy of peace are a sure guarantee that the adventurist plans of imperialism are doomed to failure."

As a close partner in the Warsaw Pact, the GDR is making every effort to strengthen the community of socialist states and its economic and defense potential and, by implementing the joint peace strategy, to help reduce the threat of war and to redirect international developments along normal paths.

The firm fraternal alliance with Lenin's party and country is and remains the stable foundation for the GDR's successful advance in developing the advanced socialist society and an important factor of European security. "The deepening of cooperation with the Soviet Union and the strengthening of our brotherhood in arms with the Soviet Armed Forces are always paramount for our socialist state and its Armed Forces."

Hoffman, Zaytsev Address GSFG

LD221936 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1803 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 22 Feb (ADN) -- The high command of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] today at Wuensdorf near Berlin celebrated the 66th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. SED Politburo members Army General Heinz Hoffmann, Egon Krenz, and Erich Mueckenberger, and other personages were given a warm welcome.

Army Gen Hoffmann handed over a message from the GDR party and state leadership. It says: "At a time when -- owing to the policy of confrontation and arms buildup by the most aggressive circles of the U.S. and NATO -- international tension and the danger of nuclear war have ominously increased, the Soviet Armed Forces are reliably fulfilling their international mission to defend socialist gains and the cause of peace."

The message emphasizes that the countermeasures initiated by the Soviet Union with the GDR and CSSR in response to the deployment of U.S. nuclear first-strike weapons in Western Europe are evidence of the determination of the fraternal socialist states to preserve the military strategic balance and to check the adventurist imperialist plans.

Army General Zaytsev, commander in chief of the GSFG, referred in his speech to the responsibility that Soviet arms bear at this time. Standing at the divide between the two world systems, the soldiers of the GSFG, from over 60 nationalities in the USSR, regard it as their duty to protect the peaceful labor of the Soviet people and its friends. Alongside the soldiers of the GDR People's Army and the other fraternal armies, they are a factor of peace and security for the present and future generations in Europe.

HOFFMANN SPEAKS AT BROTHERHOOD-IN-ARMS EVENT

LD212337 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 21 Feb 84

[Text] The week of brotherhood-in-arms, marked between the Soviet Army and National People's Army anniversaries, was opened at a central event in Brandenburg today. Working people and soldiers from the two fraternal armies expressed their determination to strengthen socialism in every way and to secure peace. Defense Minister Army General Heinz Hoffmann, on behalf of the National People's Army and the protective and security organs of the GDR, expressed firm support for the socialist class-based military alliance. National People's Army personnel are fulfilling their soldierly duty with pride and optimism, shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army.

STOPH MEETS WITH HUNGARIAN MINISTER PULLAI

LD222324 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2100 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] A talk in Berlin today between Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Hungarian Minister of Communications and Posts Arpad Pullai focused on the further expansion of the varied cooperation between the GDR and Hungary. They stressed the importance of the various sectors of the transportation system and its improved efficiency. The Hungarian minister's visit to the GDR is concentrating on the improvement of international travel, transportation in foreign trade, and cooperation between the German Reichsbahn and the Hungarian state Railways.

KIESLER, NICARAGUAN MINISTER ASSAIL U.S. POLICY

LD221432 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0846 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Managua, 22 Feb (ADN) -- The continuing arms drive and confrontation policy by the most aggressive and reactionary circles of U.S. imperialism, particularly the deployment of U.S. first-strike weapons in West Europe, have gravely aggravated the international situation. This was the shared view expressed by Henry Reiz, member of the FSLN National Directorate and Nicaraguan minister of planning, and Bruno Kiesler, SED Central Committee member and secretary of the GDR International Friendship League, during a friendly discussion in Managua Tuesday. The U.S. policy of aggression in Central America, the Middle East, and other regions of the world is increasingly jeopardizing world peace. It is therefore important to prevent mankind from slipping into a nuclear inferno by ensuring that all forces with a will for peace and a readiness for understanding work together.

Henry Ruiz reported on the heroic efforts of the Nicaraguan people and the FSLN's domestic and foreign policy measures to defend and consolidate the Sandinista people's revolution against the machinations of U.S. imperialism and the counterrevolution it is fanning. Nicaragua is prepared to continue in the future to make every effort for a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in Central America. Bruno Kiesler, who is heading the GDR delegation at the ceremonies to mark the 50th anniversary of the murder of Augusto Cesar Sandino, affirmed the close solidarity of the SED and the GDR people with the Sandinista revolution.

TISCH MEETS WITH FRG TU DELEGATION 22 FEB

LD222009 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1529 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Berlin, 22 Feb (ADN) -- Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive Committee, received a delegation of the DGB Federal Executive headed by DGB Chairman Ernst Breit for a talk today at the guests' house of the FDGB Presidium.

The FRG trade unionists had arrived this morning for a visit to the GDR of several days at the invitation of the FDGB National Executive Committee.

It was learned that the partners in the talk briefed one another on tasks presently facing the trade unions in the two countries. Both sides expressed their deep concern over the dangerously aggravated international situation and stressed the great responsibility of the trade unions in the worldwide peace movement. All trade union activities that serve the safeguarding and preservation of peace must be stepped up. In this connection, it is important to demonstrate the possibilities and usefulness of dialogue and cooperation between trade unions of different orientations and international affiliation.

Harry Tisch informed the guests about the FDGB's many task in further shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR. He spoke about the extensive rights of the trade unions in the GDR in all spheres of life. He said that the FDGB's main concern is the trade unions' work for the well-being of working people and the steady improvement of working and living conditions. He praised the initiatives with which the working people contribute daily in socialist competition to implement the main task in its unity of economic and social policy in full awareness of the fact that strengthening socialism always also means increasing their own special security.

Ernst Breit explained the position of the trade unions in the FRG. At the head of all trade union demands stands on the question of preserving peace. The FRG trade unions also regard counteracting the worsening working and living conditions of the working people and the reduction of unemployment as another important task. The safeguarding of existing and the creation of new jobs thus play a particularly important part in trade union activity.

As part of their program, the guests from the FRG visited the Stahl-und Walzwerk Brandenburg (Brandenburg Steel Rolling Mill) in Potsdam (Bezirk). They were able to inspect completed and planned housing construction projects in the GDR capital and in Potsdam and visit places of cultural and historical interest.

HONECKER GREETS ZIMBABWE'S MUGABE ON BIRTHDAY

AU221400 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Feb 84 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, has sent the following telegram to Robert Mugabe, prime minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe and president of the Zimbabwe African National Union -- Patriotic Front:

Dear Comrade Robert Mugabe, on the occasion of your 60th birthday, I convey to you the most cordial congratulations on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the people of the GDR, as well as on my own behalf.

On this day, you can look back on decades of struggle for national independence, peace, and social progress, against colonial and racist oppression. Under your tested leadership the people of Zimbabwe have achieved impressive successes in building a new life.

Your official friendship visit in the GDR and the talks with you, dear Comrade Mugabe, have given a new impetus to the development of the trustful relations between our parties, states, and peoples. I am convinced that this fruitful cooperation to the benefit of peace and to the mutual advantage will also strengthen and deepen in the future.

I wish you the best of health, personal well-being, and creative vigor in your responsible work.

SED OFFICIALS ADDRESS BEZIRK CONFERENCES

AU221428 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 20 February on pages 3-5 carries reports totalling approximately 10,000 words on the speeches by various members and candidate members of the SED Central Committee Politburo at the bezirk delegates conferences and the conferences of the Ministries of the Interior and State Security on the weekend of the 18-19 February.

According to one of the reports, which average about 1,200 words, Willi Stoph, SED Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, participated in a meeting in Dresden where he praised the achievements of the communists. "Despite the dangerous aggravation of the international situation by the most aggressive forces of imperialism, the speaker stressed, there are two important reasons for our justified optimism. Power and confidence come from the achievements of the GDR working people. At the same time, they are based on the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the firm rooting of our republic in the community of socialist states. Only a few days ago, Erich Honecker 'expressed the firm conviction that the inseparable militant community between our parties, states, and peoples will continue to strengthen' on the occasion of the election of Konstantin Chernenko as CPSU Central Committee general secretary in Moscow."

According to the report on the conference in Frankfurt (Oder), Horst Dohlus, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, who attended the conference, stressed the importance of science and technology and the mass initiatives on the occasion of the GDR's 35th anniversary. "Every party organization must see the tasks that have to be solved in close connection with the international class struggle and our responsibility for strengthening socialism. The yardstick for really understanding our peace policy is the contribution of every individual citizen to universally strengthening the GDR -- this is and will remain the most important deed which today is of the greatest importance in the struggle for peace. On the unshakable foundation of our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states we can reaffirm, the speaker stated, that socialism will remain unassailable politically, economically, and militarily."

The report on the conference of the party organization of the Ministry for State Security, which was attended by Army General Erich Mielke, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister for state security, states:" 'Report and discussion illustrated', the speaker stated, 'that the extraordinarily aggravated international class struggle situation, the worldwide conflict on the question of war or peace place much higher demands also onto our ministry, onto any party and service collective. Never before has the aggressiveness of imperialism been as obvious as it is now. To comprehensively realize this dangous development is an essential prerequisite for exercising the great political responsibility of the members of our organ and the scouts at the invisible front to clarify and check the plans, intentions, and measures of imperialism, its secret services, and other enemy centers, to prevent any surprises. Therefore we will increase our contribution in the struggle to preserve peace, to support the offensive policy of the USSR and the other socialist states that is aimed at the reliable defense of the socialist achievements and the improvement of the international situation. The international class struggle teaches us that peace is decisively guaranteed by the power of socialism, its military, economic, and political strength.'

"Erich Mielke stressed: 'As members of the socialist state security organ and principled proletarian internationalists, as inseparable friends of the Soviet Union, for us there can only be the conclusion to increase our work to contribute together with the Soviet Chekists and the other fraternal organs to foiling any attacks directed against the unity and cohesion of the community of socialist states, and at splitting and weakening it.'"

Security, Interior Ministries

LD182211 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 18 Feb 84

[Text] At the delegate conferences, now ended, of the party organizations of the Ministry for State Security and the Ministry of the Interior, Erich Mielke, Politburo member and minister of state security, said that the worsened situation in the international class struggle has resulted in greater demands being made on all Chekists. It is important to recognize fully the dangerous developments in order to expose and thwart the intentions and measures of imperialism.

Speaking to the party organization of the Ministry of the Interior, Egon Krenz, Politburo member and SED Central Committee Secretary, stressed the importance of a strong fatherland for further safeguarding peace. Political stability, economic dynamism, and the steady continuation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy were indivisibly linked with heightened revolutionary vigilance and a strong workers' and peasants' state.

KESSLER, HOFFMANN OUTLINE NVA TASKS AT SED MEETING

Kessler on Defending Peace

DW170829 East Berlin Television Service in German 1830 GMT 15 Feb 84

[Excerpt] The delegate conference of the SED organizations in the National People's Army [NVA] and the GDR Border Troops began today in Dresden. The participants cordially welcomed an SED Central Committee delegation which included Politburo member Army General Heinz Hoffmann, minister of national defense, and Egon Krenz, secretary of the SED Central Committee. The class task of the 10th party congress has been reliably fulfilled under the changed conditions of our struggle, Colonel General Heinz Kessler stated in the report by the Secretariat of the NVA Political Main Administration to the SED Central Committee and General Secretary Erich Honecker. Stimulated by the communists' example, the necessary improvement of performance in political and combat training in the military service and the protection of the state border has been achieved, he said.

[Begin Kessler recording] Since the founding of the GDR, the party has also always taken care of the organization of military defense and the development of the armed forces. In line with the best traditions of the workers movement, our republic is implementing Lenin's principle that a revolution is only worth something if it can defend itself. We are fulfilling the class task of the 10th party congress at a time when the struggle between the two antagonistic tendencies of world politics is seriously aggravating -- the intense struggle between the forces of peace and war. The Soviet Union and the states allied with it, as well as all peace-loving and progressive people, consistently support peace, security, and the return to detente. [end recording]

Hoffmann Address

LD162214 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 16 Feb 84

[Text] The SED delegate conference of the GDR National People's Army [NVA] and Border Troops party organizations ended at the Dresden Palace of Culture this afternoon. In the presence of the members of the SED Central Committee Politburo, Army General Heinz Hoffmann, minister of national defense, and Egon Krenz, secretary of the SED Central Committee, the discussion was continued this morning. Hans-Guenter Dutschke reports.

The representatives of the ground, air, and naval forces of the NVA and Border Troops, following the opening of the conference, listened to the report of the NVA Political Main Administration Secretariat, given by Colonel General Heinz Kessler, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Political Main Administration. He reported that the class order of the 10th SED Congress is being fulfilled and that the members of the NVA and Border Troops, in the sharpened military situation, are willing and able to carry out successfully all the tasks entrusted to them by the party, for the reliable military safeguarding of socialism and peace.

The safeguarding of peace and the protection of socialism demand that the Warsaw Pact countries resolutely preserve their military strength under all conditions. The answer of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist defense coalition to the incipient missile deployment in Western Europe is wholly in this spirit.

Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, minister of national defense, also dealt with this subject in his speech at the start of today's discussions.

[Begin Hoffmann recording] Despite the dangerous sharpening of the situation through the United States arms buildup, despite the rapidly growing threat to the peoples through the missile deployment in Western Europe, we, as Marxist-Leninists, proceed in principle from the premise that history will be made, also in the nuclear age, not by the imperialists and some of its adventurous leaders, but by the peoples. Socialism has a great number of potentials and advantages, the essence of which resides exclusively within socialism. If imperialism is even today incapable of matching this with something only approximately similar, all attempts must be doomed to failure. The peace policy of the Soviet Union, the GDR, and all our fraternal countries is based on this. This peace policy, in the shape of great material and intellectual potentials, is the only alternative to the war policy of the United States and NATO, and especially to a nuclear war.

It is this, comrades, which fills us with justifiable optimism that we shall emerge as victors from the hard class battle fought to preserve world peace and to ensure that socialism will triumph. [applause] [end recording]

BRIEFS

COOPERATION WITH FRENCH PARTY -- On 6 February in Paris, Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, met for a comprehensive exchange of views on topical international problems, particularly questions of disarmament, securing peace, and deepening cooperation, with Vice Presidents of the Left Radical Movement [MRG] Francois Luchaire and Jean Beranger, and other members of the National Bureau, senators, and deputies of the MRG. At the meeting, the participants in the talk expressed their conviction that their relations make a valuable contriution to the development of the bilateral relations between the GDR and France and agreed on the next steps for further cooperation between the two parties. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Feb 84 p 2 AU]

LEIPZIG SPRING FAIR ANNOUNCED -- Roughly 9000 exhibitors and visitors from 100 countries have registered for the 1984 Leipzig Spring Fair, which is to be held 11-17 March. The extent of the participation once again makes the fair the traditional center for world trade. In an ADN interview, Siegfried Fischer, general director of the Leipzig Fair Office, emphasized that it is a particular concern of the two 1984 Leipzig Trade Fairs to promote a world wide exchange of scientific and technical achievements. [Excerpt] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Feb 84 p 1 WA]

CONTINUITY OF USSR POLICY UNDER CHERNENKO VIEWED

Varnai in NEPSZABADSAG

AU221111 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Feb 84 p 1

[Ferenc Varnai article: "Unchangingly, Continuously"]

[Text] An important personnel change took place in the CPSU last week: In place of the deceased Yuriy Andropov, Konstantin Chernenko was elected general secretary. The change occurred at the head of the socialist country that bears the greatest responsibility in the struggle for social progress and the cause of socialism, for defending the peace of mankind and averting the threat of a nuclear war, and for disarmament. The high rank of the foreign politicians who attended the funeral and the diversity of their political persuasions indicated -- in addition to paying a tribute of respect -- that there is no actual political problem that can be resolved without the Soviet Union. It is understandable, therefore, that there is no politician or commentator who is not preoccupied with the possible consequences of the events.

There is no doubt that, in his position as general secretary, the world had learned to know Andropov as a striking personality. And, although no one disputes the role of personality, there could hardly be a greater mistake than not knowing that a collective leadership prevails in the CPSU, which constitutes, among other things, a guarantee for policy continuity. Thus, the change of a person at the head of the party or country is not the same by far as a change -- let us say -- in the position of the president of the United States, where a new president can bring to expression the interests of one or another group of the ruling class.

As far as Western bourgeois analyses and surmises are concerned, a frequently asked question is: For Yuriy Andropov, the 15 months given him as head of the Soviet state was an extremely short period of time; is it possible to create something lasting in such a short time?

Precisely the speech made by Konstantin Chernenko at the Central Committee session provides a positive answer to this question: It is possible, given his realistic outlook, his manner of openly facing up to weaknesses, and the manner in which he wanted to accelerate development, that the deceased general secretary has exerted such a lasting effect that this effect itself calls for continuity. And the collective leadership of which he was a member takes it upon itself, indeed, to unabatedly continue this approach.

This applies to the area of socialist construction, to the development of the economy. The CPSU Central Committee acts in the awareness that it is precisely here that the greatest efforts are needed, because it is primarily by its constructive work, its technical and economic advance, and the improvement of the standard of living of the working masses that the Soviet Union can truly appeal to peoples living under a different social system. For this very reason it intends to renew its efforts in continuing the measures decided upon and initiated to further develop economic macromanagement, consolidate discipline and order, and further strengthen socialist democracy. In these days this was one of the reasons for stressing the significance of the three Central Committee plenums held after November 1982, which urged an even more consistent implementation of the resolutions of the 26th congress.

That is why they press for the elaboration of more favorable prerequisites for good quality, productive and initiatory work, and enterprising zeal. That is why, at the same time, they declare war on idleness, negligence, irresponsibility, and closing one's eyes to mistakes. That is why there is an increasing call for the working people to have their say in the development of the future.

The continuity of approach is shown by the position adopted by the new general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at this week's extraordinary Central Committee session: "The issue of organization and order is of key importance, bearing the significance of a principle for us. There cannot be two kinds of views on this. Any manner of lack of discipline or responsibility not only causes material damage to society, but also results in serious social and moral harm... Is it not that some leaders want to conceal their own passiveness and persistence in the old working style by waiting out the results of experiments? Of course, the renewal of the economic structure is a responsible task, and it does not do any harm to abide by the old rule, measure things seven times before you make one cut. However, this can be no excuse for those who do not want to acknowledge at all the changed circumstances and the new demands imposed by life. We expect our economic leaders to display more independence at every level, search more boldly, and, if need be, assume justified risk to enhance the effectiveness of the economy and raise the people's welfare."

As for Soviet foreign policy, we can be certain of continuity here as well, because if there is a country in the world that regards not only its own peace but the peace of mankind as a whole as its program and not only declares this but makes greater sacrifices than anyone else for it, that country is the Soviet Union. The will for peace of this mighty country is not temporary and does not merely follow tactical consideration but is resolute and consistent. This unabated will for peace has always permeated the policy of the Soviet Union and the CPSU and guided Yuriy Andropov, and this is kept in mind by Konstantin Chernenko, too. A person who is not committed to the cause of peace could not be at the head of the Soviet Union and the CPSU.

The Soviet Union -- we know -- has learned at the price of its own grave historical experiences that one must line up realistic forces in the defense of peace. However, in possessing these forces, it engages in political activity so as to prevent the other side from obtaining an opportunity for a provocation and to ensure that mankind as a whole is convinced that the Soviet Union employs its strength solely for the sake of peace, to prevent war.

High-level representatives of capitalist countries who conducted talks with Soviet leaders following the funeral were able to convince themselves once more of the fact that, unchangingly, the doors leading to agreement and disarmament remain open in the Soviet Union. Nothing is required other than a similar intention on their part, than acknowledging that world peace can be consolidated only through mutual security and the preservation of relations based on equal rights, equal status, and the existing balance of power at a lower level. As Konstantin Chernenko has phrased it: "As a socialist great power, the Soviet Union is entirely aware of the responsibility it owes to people for preserving and consolidating peace. We open the door to peaceful and mutually beneficial cooperation for the countries of all continents. We take a stand for resolving every disputed international problem by peaceful means, in serious, equal, and constructive talks. The Soviet Union will fully cooperate with every country prepared to promote with practical steps a lessening of international tension and the creation of an atmosphere of trust in the world."

This was broached also by Janos Kadar the day before yesterday when he noted on the occasion of his visit to the Beloiannis factory: "At its session held in the grave days of mourning, the CPSU Central Committee has resolved to continue the pursuit of this policy, and, with full conviction and wholeheartedly, we side with this. This is being implemented by us collectively and by each of us separately in our domestic and international activity alike."

In case of a personnel change of such consequence, it is understandable that some people ask also in our country: How will relations between our country and the Soviet Union and between the MSZMP and the CPSU continue to develop? We can answer it with a conviction arising from experience: These relations will progress unchangingly on their proven path. The Soviet Union is a firm pillar of the socialist countries -- including out country -- and the forces of independence and social progress. Hungarian-Soviet relations have been and are determined by our common long-term social objectives, the common desire for peace, and the fundamental interests of our national progress. As was stressed by a communique of the MSZMP Politburo the other day, these objectives have obliged and continue to oblige us to guard, foster, and develop our friendship. And this endeavor coincides with the will of Hungarian public opinion.

MAGYAR HIRLAP Editorial

AU221437 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Feb 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Continuity"]

[Text] Moscow, which because of Yuriy Andropov's funeral became last week the world capital for a few days, was the scene of important international political talks. Gathered here were all the countries' leading representatives who are responsible for the development of the entire international situation.

The starting point for the negotiations on the Soviet side was based on the determined desire for an undiminished continuity of the foreign policy trend worked out at party congresses and lately shaped into concrete form at the plenary sessions of the Central Committee. Quoting Konstantin Chernenko, this desire was reflected, and will continue to be reflected in the future in the following: The Soviet Union, as the socialist great [nagy hatalom] power is fully aware of its responsibility to the peoples for safeguarding and strengthening peace. It is ready for peaceful cooperation based on mutual advantages with all countries, and it takes the position that all controversial international issues should be solved by serious and constructive negotiations based on equality.

Moscow attaches great importance in this case to the influence exercised by the socialist countries in the international arena, and to the vitality, determination, and harmony of their activity there. It is not by chance that, among the meetings held in Moscow, the press mentions first the meetings that were held between the Soviet leaders and the representatives of the Warsaw Pact countries.

In the future, too, the Soviet Union will continue to be the reliable friend and faithful ally of the fraternal socialist countries. It will continue to feel solidarity with the peoples who have shed the colonial yoke and moved towards independent development. These are the words of Konstantin Chernenko as delivered in Moscow on Monday. His talks with Indira Ghandhi, Babrak Karmal, and Daniel Ortega, as well as Nikolay Tikhonov's exchange of views with Samora Machel emphasize this statement.

In its relations with the capitalist countries -- and this was expressed in the exchange of views held with their representatives -- Moscow is guided by the principle that, in the era of nuclear weapons and extremely precise missiles, all must adhere to the principle of peaceful coexistence; diktat and attempts to upset the military balance are intolerable. If the partners left for home aware of the Soviet leaders' sincerity and determination, then a step forward has been taken toward the re-establishment of an atmosphere of trust.

VARKONYI HOSTS VISIT OF SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER

Bodstrom Arrives; Talks Begin

LD211114 Budapest MTI in English 1015 GMT 21 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February 21 (MTI) -- Swedish Foreign Minister Lennart Bodstrom arrived in Budapest Tuesday at the invitation of Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi.

The head of the Swedish diplomacy was met by his host at Ferihegy Airport. Present were Karoly Szigeti, Hungarian ambassador to Sweden, and Karl Vidar Hellners, Swedish ambassador to Hungary.

The official foreign ministerial talks opened in the Foreign Ministry right after the arrival of the Swedish foreign minister.

Kadar Receives Swede

LD221431 Budapest MTI in English 1037 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February 22 (MTI) -- Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, met visiting Swedish Foreign Minister Lennart Bodstrom, in Budapest Wednesday. In the course of the cordial meeting the parties discussed current international issues and the development of Hungarian-Swedish relations.

Present were Hungarian Foreign Minister Dr Peter Varkonyi; Karoly Szigeti, Hungarian ambassador to Sweden; and Karl Vidar Hellners, Swedish ambassador to Hungary.

Bilateral Relations 'Thriving'

LD222318 Budapest MTI in English 1727 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February 22 (MTI) -- Speaking before journalists prior to leaving Budapest Wednesday, Swedish Foreign Minister Lennart Bodstrom stated that in his talks with senior Hungarian officials it had been confirmed that Swedish-Hungarian relations are thriving. He said the views of Sweden and Hungary on key world affairs are similar. He and his interlocutors agreed that joint action can ward off a nuclear conflict despite the tensions in the world. Minister Bodstrom added that today there is no immediate danger to world peace.

Of trade relations he said there is room for expansion on both sides and, in connection with the cultural relations, he said the Swedish royal drama theatre is to make a guest performance during the Budapest spring festival.

The correspondents of MTI reports that Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi and Lennart Bodstrom, his Swedish counterpart, have conducted useful talks on bilateral relations and timely world affairs in a cordial atmosphere. The two politicians expressed satisfaction over the development of bilateral relations and readiness to seek opportunities to promote cooperation with benefits for both sides.

The two ministers noted with concern the growth in international tension and the expanding arms buildup. They agreed on the need that the debated questions should be settled in negotiations and the dialogue maintained in order to reduce tension and reintroduce cooperation as a dominant tendency in Europe. Keen attention was devoted to issues of disarmament. The two foreign ministers stressed that it is in the interest of both governments that early genuine measures to be taken to promote arms control and that nuclear weapons be radically reduced in Europe and elsewhere. Peter Varkonyi emphasized the importance of the relevant proposals of the Warsaw Treaty countries, which are still valid.

Peter Varkonyi underlined that Hungary attaches major importance to the work of the Stockholm conference and will continue to do everything in its power to promote its success. Lennart Bodstrom said Sweden also attached major importance to the conference and is ready to cooperate with Hungary and other countries to promote its success.

Lennart Bodstrom has invited Peter Varkonyi to visit Sweden. Peter Varkonyi has accepted the invitation.

Bodstrom Departs

LD221437 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] The Swedish foreign minister, who was received this morning by Janos Kadar and Gyorgy Lazar, has left Hungary. At the meetings, held in a cordial atmosphere, topical issues ot the international situation and the development of Hungarian-Swedish relations were reviewed. Lennart Bodstrom also met with Sandor Gaspar, chairman of the National Council of Trade Unions.

LEADERS ATTEND SOVIET ARMY DAY CEREMONY

LD221107 Budapest MTI in English 1016 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Budapest, February 21 (MTI) -- A ceremony was held Tuesday at the headquarters of the Soviet Southern Army troops temporarily stationed in Hungary, to mark the 66th anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Army and Navy.

The ceremony was attended by Mihaly Korom, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the CC, Janos Borbandi, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Army General Lajos Czinege, defence minister, leading representatives of public organizations and the associated armed forces, members of the government, and generals and commanders of the Hungarian People's Army.

Present was Soviet Ambassador Vladimir Bazovskiy, senior diplomats of the Soviet Embassy, and Colonel-General Nikolay Silchenko, representative in Hungary of the General Command of the United Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

After the address of Colonel-General Konstantin Kochetov, commander of the Soviet Southern Army troops, a performance was given by the song and dance ensemble of the Southern Army troops.

GLEMP CITED ON NONPOLITICAL ROLE OF CHURCH

LD221931 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Roman Dobrzynski dispatch from Brazil]

[Excerpts] Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, on the 3d day of his visit to Brazil, is staying in the country's capital.

He was a guest of Ambassador Janusz Mickiewicz tonight. At the meeting in the Polish Embassy attention was drawn to the role of the Church in the sphere of defending peace of the world, protecting mankind from the threat of mass annihilation and strengthening universal humanitarian values. These elements are predominant in the statements of the primate of Poland whose visit is accompanied by great interest of the mass media. Today's CORREIO BRASILENSE has quoted the following statement by the cardinal: The Church in its tasks of evangelization cannot join in political struggles since then it would have to take one side against the other.

TRYBUNA LUDU EXCERPTS CHERNENKO'S STATEMENTS

AU221625 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Feb 84 p 2

["The Strength of Our Idea and Our System -- From Konstantin Chernenko's Statements"]

[Text] Konstantin Chernenko, the newly elected general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in a number of statements has recently tackled the current problems of the activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state and of the struggle for world peace. We cite below excerpts from his report read at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in June last year and from his article written especially for TRYBUNA LUDU and published on 3 November 1983.

Socialism Continues Peace Offensive

"Washington's adventurous policy, which continues to intensify international tension to the utmost limits, is pushing mankind to a nuclear catastrophe.

"No matter how tense international relations are, the CPSU is still unshakably convinced that the nuclear madness can be stemmed. There is no more important task for our party to fulfill than to maintain and strengthen peace. We are consistent in observing the principles of peaceful coexistence and detente. The large package of the initiatives that the USSR and other socialist countries have submitted shows that socialism is continuing its peace offensive." (from the report to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in June 1983)

The Party Outlines Prospects

"The CPSU's leading role applies, above all, to political leadership. The party outlines the general prospects of society's development and the lines of the USSR's domestic and foreign policies. For state and social organizations this role is also a roadsign that enables them to maintain a correct course, to avoid a parochial treatment of affairs, and to conduct their activities in the interest of all the people.

"The CPSU's work is based on convincing people and promoting ideological influence. State and social organizations make their own decisions on the affairs within their competence. The CPSU conducts its policy within them primarily through the Communists working in them." (from the article in TRYBUNA LUDU, November 1983)

Praise Through Work

"We have achieved a great deal in implementing the goal that no one other than the Communists, has developed: to foster an individual who is ideologically convinced, harmoniously developed, and spiritually rich, and who lives in line with the laws of social justice, reason, goodness, and beauty. As we forge ahead it is not only the possibilities for the comprehensive development of the individual that grow, but also the requirements placed on him by society.

"In this connection the party thinks that the most important task is for every human being to foster his need for work and a clear awareness and need for work for the common good. Ideomoral considerations are as important in this connection as economic considerations, because through work man not only creates material values, but also develops his best qualities, toughens his resolution, develops creative powers, and confirms his standing as a citizen and active builder of communism." (from the report to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in June 1983)

The Great Task of Developing Attitudes

"Today the party and the people are solving unprecedented tasks. We are implementing enormous, comprehensive socioeconomic programs, including the food and energy programs, we are fighting to intensify production and to speed up scientific-technological progress, and we are changing the face of enormous regions. We are energetically fighting to ensure that the colossal potential of our economy, science, and culture, and our natural resources are used most fully and effectively. It is, therefore, natural that ideological work must cater to all those tasks. The way we mobilize the people's spiritual energy and increase their work and social militancy determines to a great entent the implementation of the 5-year plan, the speed of our onward march, and, of course, the strengthening of the country's defense....

"We must be more resolute in overcoming avoidance of life's acute problems, formalism, and showiness. The Central Committee continues to run the work of ideological workers along the lines of realism, truth, and objectivity. It continues to tell them that it is necessary to skillfully demonstrate our achievements, to carefully analyse the people's problems, and to cultivate the freshness of thought and the clarity of statement." (from the report to the CPSU Central Committee Plenum in June 1983)

Guarding Human Rights

"The problems of democracy, the freedom of the individual, human rights, equality, and humanism belong to the most important problems of modern times.... We think that man can feel himself free and as having full rights only when he is free from exploitation and social oppression and when it is truly possible for him to share in the running of the state and public affairs. A truly free man must be sure of tomorrow and must be certain that no one can be deprived of the means of subsistence. He must also be sure that the state stands guard over his rights and freedoms and that they are materially safeguarded. This is possible only on the basis of socialist social ownership". (from the article in TRYBUNA LUDU in November 1983)

JARUZELSKI ADDRESS TO 15TH PZPR CC PLENUM

AU221300 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 20 Feb 84 p 3

[Closing speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, at the 15th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 19 February]

[Text] Dear comrades: We have devoted the 15th Central Committee Plenum to preparations for the national PZPR conference. The Central Committee has adopted the basic materials that it will present at the conference. These materials will be supplemented with the conclusions stemming from today's talks, as well as with conclusions voiced during normal work, and they will become a basis for the conference's talks and guidelines for our entire party's future work.

We are holding the conference armed with a report on the way the term of office has proceeded up to now, a particularly difficult term of office, but also a hard-working one and one characterized by many forms of joint work. Let me recall that we have held 15 Central Committee plenums at which basic ideological-political and socioeconomic problems have been tackled. At the same time, these sessions have been a record of the effort and process of gradually rebuilding the party's role, strength, and political and organizational consolidation, and a sign of increased ideological activity.

The idea of the national PZPR conference also illustrates this. The institutional shape given to the conference by the ninth congress is something new, born during the search for guarantees against a repetition of crisis situations. The idea of the conference also expresses the conviction that a permanent seat held by a party delegate and the powers emerging from this may act as one of these guarantees.

We attach great importance to the approaching conference. For its topic will be issues of exceptional importance for the party and for the whole of society. The implementation of the ninth congress program, the line of socialist renewal, should be carefully analyzed at the conference. I mean the kind of analysis that will open a new stage in the implementation of this program and will inspire the program with new initiatives and more effective activity. In order for this to happen, the analysis must contain realism and criticism. It must aim to reveal the things that block, interfere, and encumber. And at the same time it must aim to extract the best experiences and indicate everything that serves as encouragement and everything that could be made better use of. Therefore efforts are necessary to discover unused possibilities and establish ways of reaching the goals mapped out by the ninth congress more effectively. We have no better ways of doing so than determination and consistency by the entire party in implementing the entire congress program, and faith in the ideals of Marxism-Leninism.

Lenin said: "The entire spirit of Marxism and its entire system require that every situation be examined as follows: first -- historically, second -- solely in connection with other situations, and third -- solely in connection with concrete historical experience." The methodological spirit of Marxism expressed in such a way obligates one to perceive social phenomena and processes in concrete terms. One should bear this requirement in mind also at times when we ponder over the implementation of the ninth congress program so far. There have been various periods during this implementation process, every one of which has had its own specifics, chances, dangers, and inconsistencies. Prior to the ninth congress, and then during the period between the congress and the sixth plenum, and in fact right up to the introduction of martial law, there was a characteristic and steady growth in the strength and aggressiveness of the counterrevolutionary forces, which led to the implementation of the congress resolutions' actually being blocked. Martial law broke this blockage, and made it possible to implement the congress resolutions and the tasks of socialist renewal.

It is, above all, since the seventh plenum that a multifaceted process of materializing the ninth congress program has been taking place and the steadfastness of its fundamental principles has been confirmed. Although this process is not taking place on an equal measure in all spheres, nevertheless it is paving its way in every sphere. The phenomena occurring in the party itself is especially important for this process and for the range and extent thereof.

Informative and consultative meetings between Central Committee members, on the one hand, and the Politburo and Secretariat, on the other, have also become a fully tested and highly useful form of regular contacts. There have been 11 of these, lasting a total of 19 days. The opinions of members of the central party authorities have also been sought by means of questionnaires. We have already asked Central Committee members seven times for written answers to the questions sent them. We have received many valuable and useful opinions. We will use these appropriately during the work of the party leadership.

A valuable form of Central Committee activity is also the work of the 16 problems commissions and 3 subject commissions. These have held 232 meetings since their establishment. They have conducted analytical and research work involved with preparations for Central Committee plenums. They have presented opinions on many draft Sejm laws and on the most important government plans. They have drafted and presented reports, assessments, and conclusions to the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Central Committee Secretariat.

We Are Drawing the Right Conclusions From Past Experience

The 2 and 1/2 years that have gone by have shown that the party cannot do anything without the Central Committee. All the most important decisions and measures have been based on consultations with you, comrades. They have involved your active participation and gained your approval. This is proof that we are drawing the right conclusions from past experience.

It is Not Declarations That Count, But Facts and Deeds

The accountability-election meetings and conferences have shown that the party ranks are consolidating themselves ideologically and organizationally at a constant and steady rate, though not without difficulties and interruptions. Activity, and the effectiveness thereof, are lending expression to the above fact more and more. But there is still a long and difficult road before us. We should stubbornly and steadfastly aim for the situation where it is not what is said at meetings that forms the basis for assessing party organizations, cells, aktivists, and all members, but primarily the way they help implement the party program and party policy. Therefore it is not words and declarations that count, but facts and deeds.

Remembering the 13th plenum all the time, we are opposed to narrow-minded practices and to removing tasks from their ideological, political, and class context. But we support and must support objectiveness, the calling of tasks by their name, the strict performance of our duties, and scrupulous control over this performance. And yet the situation with these things is still not the best.

Therefore a kind of analysis of ideological-educational, political, social, and economic effectiveness must be introduced into party activity. Hence -- as Comrade Maniawski has correctly said today -- we should assess party activity according to its contents, range of influence, concrete effects in cleaning up and healing life, but mainly according to the results of individual undertakings.

The growth in the importance of criticism and self-criticism stems from the spirit of the ninth congress. We must not forget this even for one moment. I have already had the chance once to say that every party aktivist should keep the "Report on the Work of the Commission Established To Explain the Causes and Course of Social Crises in the History of People's Poland" under his pillow, as it were, and always remember it. I am stressing this because as the party is strengthening and normalization is occurring, there is still a danger of harmful presumptuousness, self-appeasement, a lowering of standards, and dwelling on minor affairs.

It is good that the wave of one-sided criticism, full of emotion and pent up with demogogy, has passed. But the party needs the Leninist kind of criticism and self-criticism -- the kind of criticism stemming from ideological involvement, from the strength of convictions, and from opposition to evil and sluggish averageness -- the way oxygen is needed for life.

Against this background appear reflections concerning many aktivists and cells, including us, the Central Committee. What I mean is that when we present criticism in a generally correct way and expose evil, we do not usually speak our thoughts completely.

Where does this evil occur in concrete terms?

Does it also not occur at my side, in my activity?

What are the causes of this evil?

Who will bear responsibility for it?

How should the situation be improved?

Unfortunately, principle-mindedness and proposed solutions are generally no longer enough to give an answer to such questions.

Determination To Combat Manifestations of Evil Continues To Increase

Comrades, during the accountability-election campaign the class perception of the phenomena that defy social justice was most obvious. People condemned profiteering, exploitation of the country's economic difficulties, and the greed and impudently-getting-rich of various "sharks" in our crisis situation.

The campaign has also demonstrated that our party members' determination to combat parasitism, bad management, and waste continues to increase. However, this determination must not be limited to verbal declarations. The necessary measures taken by the authorities must be daily supported by the resolve of every party organization. We must also consider at this conference how to increase the effectiveness of our struggle and how to evaluate and register its results.

We all are disturbed by the fact that some of our party organizations -- mainly the smaller and less visible ones -- have still not shaken off their passivity and continue their anemic lives. Some of them think that there is nothing to worry about because they are apparently far from the center. However, they have to attend to the socially crucial problems that the working people consider very important -- trade, services, communications, housing, and small offices settling a multitude of citizens' affairs. This means that nothing is far from the center and that the party organizations in question are in the first line of the struggle to effectively meet the needs of the people, to promote the correct socialist attitude toward man, and to ensure social justice. That is why we have to treat the small but socially extremely important party organizations accordingly.

Replying to Comrade Fidzinski, I would like in this connection to stress most strongly that we must at all times pay attention to and respect the letters, complaints, and proposals sent in by our citizens. We will never tolerate any sluggishness and indifference in this regard. It is true that there have been improvements in this regard, but there must be still more improvements.

To Increase the Role of Workers' Aktivs

As the Politburo report stated, the accountability-election campaign has brought to light not only our achievements, but also our many weaknesses. First of all, the work of party committees with workers' aktivs and workers is still inadequate. We still have no effective system by which party cells can commit workers' aktivs to decisionmaking. It is true that more workers have been elected to party bodies in voivodships than during the previous campaign, but there are still not enough of them. We also have to stress the completely incomprehensible and glaring disproportions in the numbers of workers in party bodies in individual party cells, plants, and voivodships. This calls for additional analyses and for the necessary evaluations of the work done by responsible comrades.

Party cells should make a more extensive and effective use of workers' participation in their work, should include them in problem commissions and teams, and should set up groups of workers' aktivs to deal with specific matters. Wherever small numbers of workers have been elected to party bodies, other workers should be invited to the meetings of party committees and executive bodies. This is because what is important is effort not only to ensure a formal representation of workers, but also to win over wise and militant champions of the workers' cause for practical party activities.

Comrade Maniawski has proposed that suitable changes should be made in the regulations governing the elections to party bodies and that some aspects of the statute should be examined in favor of workers. The draft regulations on party elections are still under consideration. Two consultations will be held before the national PZPR conference, which will examine the proposals submitted during those consultations and will make the necessary decisions. However, only the party congress may make any changes in the party statute.

We must also make consistent and planned efforts to train workers, especially young workers, for party promotion, especially for holding party functions. This training should be done in such a way and these workers should be given such knowledge that they are able to fulfill their functions usefully and to their complete satisfaction.

We intend to hold an open Central Committee plenum in the second quarter of this year. This plenum, which will actually amount to an all-Poland conference with the participation of large numbers of party and nonparty representatives of the workers class, especially of the party organizations in plants, trade unions, workers self-management groups, and labor veterans, will be an important illustration of the fact that our activities are directed toward workers. We intend to devote that plenum -- the 16th plenum -- to the workers' nature of our party, to the role and significance of the workers class in the socialist state, and to socialist transformations in the country. We have to start thinking about that plenum right now.

The accountability-election campaign stressed correctly that it is necessary to intensify political work with the leading cadres at all levels -- from the very administrative-economic "summit" through to foremen and brigade leaders. This was especially stressed by comrade workers with large-scale professional and party experience. The campaign also drew attention to the style of work and management. What is important is to see that while the authority of the supervisors who are industrious, competent, exacting and yet kind is being protected and built up, the pseudoauthorities that set up cliques, are fakes and arrogant, and are so much deadwood that hinders the processes of accord and the struggle to regain the trust for the party and the people's rule, should be exposed and eliminated.

The Young Determine the Poland of the Future

As the Politburo report noted, the accountability-election campaign laid bare the serious weaknesses of the work with the young generation. We must not acquiesce in these weaknesses. The struggle for young people, for their socialist upbringing, and for their attitudes is a struggle for the development of socialism in our country.

It is obvious that the shape of Poland's future will be determined by the young because they will decide our country's fate. That is why it is the task of the party and our duty to create, together with the young and their organizations, such principles and norms of community life that can guarantee and dynamize the socialist and creative character of changes. The awareness of this commitment is rather universal, especially so since the ninth plenum. However, there are facts to show that this awareness is still insufficient to stimulate activity. No doubt the conference will draw the necessary conclusions from this fact as well.

Comrades Pawlowska and Brewinska discussed here the issue of women's social advancement and their place in the life of the party and the state. Women's present position in this regard is really unsatisfactory. No doubt objective reasons are at play, but the thing is that first of all we have to break down various subjective and even reactionary barriers and hinderances. The situation in this regard is far from uniform. For example, Comrade Nowak told us that in Walbrzych Voivodship the women's position in this regard is favorable. However, the general conclusion is that we must do everything to increase opportunities for women, many of whom are fit to hold higher and higher functions in party, administrative, and economic work as well as in the service for our party and the people's state. I think that the proposals developed by the Central Committee Women's Commission, the Cadre Department, and the Office of the Council of Ministers will enable us to take more consistent and effective measures in this regard.

Today's report, discussion, and summing up have not dealt with everything. They have not dealt with such important issues as the worker-peasant alliance and the situation in rural areas. The only issue I want to mention is that we would like soon to hold a joint session of the PZPR Politburo and the ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium in order to evaluate the implementation of the resolution adopted by the joint 11th plenum. Such a session would also constitute a suitable allied accent prior to the coming ZSL Congress.

At this plenum we have not dealt with such an important sphere as the situation of the intelligentsia (if we disregard the issues of payments and moral authority that were discussed by Comrade Fidzinski with regard to the health service and that will soon be tackled and solved as necessary). However, we should remember that omitting this issue at this plenum does not mean that we are not aware of it, much less that we pooh-pooh it. We must invigorate and extend our impact on the intelligentsia, especially on the scientific, creative, engineering, and technical intelligentsia, which in the socialist state is a natural ally of the workers class and peasants. The party sees and values the intelligentsia as a force that is extremely important and irreplaceable in socialist development, in scientific-technological progress, in enriching the people's spiritual life, and in constructing the country's favorable future.

Let Us Make a Great Step Toward National Accord in the Elections

Comrades, the basic weakness in our work continues to be ideological and political education within the party itself, a point that we extensively discussed during the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. In order to effectively overcome this weakness and find solutions to our tasks, we must free ourselves of the belief that still lingers in the minds of many party members about party training being its own kind of marginal "extra" to proper political work.

There is an urgent need to make a more perceptive analysis of the experiences of the party training that we have had so far. If we do not in the short term make clear progress in the standard of our work then we must count on seeing the weakening of the ideological and political influence of our party members and party organizations In their surrounding circles. We cannot allow this to happen.

We spoke at our 12th plenary session of the fact that in the space of the last few years our party and citizen-like way of thinking, which was entangled in the drama of critical events, was mainly centered on the past and present. It was the nature of things that our consideration for the long-term prospects of Poland's socialist development weakened, as did the motives that were linked with it. They must be aroused and society's imagination must be turned toward the future. This is an exceptionally important directive for party work. An ideological declaration and the preparation of topics for the discussion of the party program will allow us to develop the influence whose significance to the renewal of the party's leading role in our society cannot be overestimated.

The elections to the people's councils are forthcoming, and will not only be an expression of the people's attitude to the program and its candidates, but also a way of enabling them to proclaim themselves "for" or "against" the main interests that are fundamental to the people and the state. We can see in these elections an exceptionally important stage in the political, social, and psychological normalization process. We wish them to be a big step in the direction of national accord, a definite accord that will be based on patriotic motives, socialist principles, and socialist renewal while taking into consideration the social world outlook of our people and also human diversities.

The great problems are broken down in the prism of local situations, needs, and possibilities in a comprehensive and diversified, but above all, definite and tangible way. It is true that the people live and work in Poland, but Poland is divided into voivodships, towns, districts, and rural parishes, in which the conditions, levels of management, achievements and difficulties are diverse. It is in these conditions that the electoral campaign will take place. An active, economical, and citizen-like attitude to the needs and tasks facing their region could and should unite the people in the creation of an antidote that will make them immune to destructive activities, to disruptions and harmful divisions, and one that will contribute to the renewal and development of social activeness.

The elections will really be elections. We treat the widely consulted decisions that have been made in this direction as one of the basic factors in the recovery of the people's trust and authentication of the program of the Ninth PZPR Congress.

We have taken into account the activities of the opponent. From the beginning there were calls and instructions like, "boycott the elections, cross out all the candidates on the ballot cards and throw only empty envelopes into the ballot boxes," and so on. These adventurists will be defeated this time as well. What they failed to do in 1981 will fail all the more in 1984. Good sense and the kind of reasoning that supports a stabilized and secure Poland must take the lead.

We must on our part do everything to prove that we are following the road of socialist renewal; we must extract everything that is new from the electoral law and emphasize it. We must care for the authenticity and productiveness of both local programs and the profoundly democratic way of nominating candidates. We must disseminate the new law on people's councils and regional self-governing bodies as one of the fundamental reforms of the socialist political system in the PPR.

Our party cells and organizations should already be thinking of nominating candidates who are indeed the best, because it will be they who will be the main figures of the electoral campaign. It is, above all, the job of the party, a workers' party, to see that there are many workers among the candidates, as well as many representatives of the younger generation, and nonparty people.

We Must Make Good Use of the Time Before the National PZPR Conference

Comrades, the time we have between now and the national PZPR conference should induce us to reflect deeply over the road we have traversed and the tasks that lay ahead. We should also use this time to meet the delegates and work forces from the plants. All this will help us to better envisage what the party members and the whole of society expects from the conference and how they assess the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress.

Let us make an inner self-appraisal of ourselves in accordance with our party conscience. Let us ask the question: Can one say that our own primary party organizations or the entire party is "the same but not the same"? What are our achievements in this area and what are our weaknesses?

Our approach to the preparations for the conference is an objective and an industrious one. This is also why the Politburo will undertake several vital matters before the conference begins, including the following:

--examine all subsequent reports on the implementation of the decisions made at the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum;

--assess incoming reports on the implementation of proposals made at accountability-election meetings and conferences directed to party and state authorities;

--discuss ways to improve certain principles of the housing policy;

--familiarize itself with the opinions of the Commission for Constitutional Responsibilities, particularly in making the structure and organization of the management of the state more efficient;

--and discuss proposals concerning worker-peasant control in the light of the system of control that is currently functioning in the state.

An appraisal of the situation in the country indicates that following the favorable changes that were made during martial law, there was a recurrence and even a partial intensification of certain negative, as well as criminal, phenomena. In compliance with the intentions of the 14th PZPR plenum, on 2 December 1983 the Council of Ministers resolved to appoint a Council of Ministers Committee for the Observance of Public Law and Order and Social Discipline. We will shortly familiarize ourselves with the basic directives of the activities of this committee at one of the forthcoming sessions of the Politburo and the Government Presidium. We will, at the same time, assess the observance of the law and the consolidation of law and order in the country, the effectiveness of the fight against criminality, particularly thefts and speculation, and the various kinds of social pathology; we will counteract wastefulness and bad management, and prevent excessive and unjustified profits. While at the same time facing social demands, the committee is initiating the tightening of certain legal and penal regulations and so on. It is also implementing many other measures aimed at stepping up the fight against crime.

Comrades, we have the right to say we are embarking on tasks that stem from resolutions and that we spare no effort in implementing them. All this testifies to the fact that we were and still are faithful to the policy line of the Ninth PZPR Congress, a line of accord, struggle, and socialist reform. We lacked neither resolution nor patience in its implementation. We did a good deal in unimaginably difficult conditions, but we must do even more!

We expect a justified assessment from the conference, based on an objective outlook. The awareness of both our achievements and unused reserves and the weaknesses that have not been overcome, spurs, arms, and protects us from falling into a dull routine, it inspires us to perform more effective activities and through them to better serve the cause of the workers, the working people, and the socialist homeland.

BARYLA CITED ON ARMY ACCOUNTABILITY CAMPAIGN

LD221238 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] The PZPR's accountability-election campaign has been summed up at the party's 15th Central Committee Plenum. Its results are the subject of study and assessment in the party organizations of the Armed Forces, writes Jozef Baryla, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army and deputy minister of national defense, in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI. Implementation of resolutions and decisions of meetings and accountability-election conferences will require long-term and resolute political and organizational action. The fact is, that this human wisdom should not be wasted, either unintentionally or subconsciously. On the contrary, Jozef Baryla writes, all our program assumptions should be based on real possibilities but with increasing requirements.

The party also faces priority tasks in holding the lead in the ideological struggle against the adversary, in struggle for the ideological content of public awareness, in care for the ideological uniformity of soldiers, in offensives by our regular cadres to consolidate the country's defense. This is necessary because of the tense world situation, and also as a result of changes in our country, General Baryla stresses.

PROTEIN CONSUMPTION ABOVE WHO STANDARD

LD222038 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Generally speaking the level of the Polish public's nourishment is satisfactory, with certain reservations. These concern certain nutritional deficiencies in the diet of certain groups of the population. This opinion has been expressed by Polish specialists at a news conference at INTERPRESS on the effect of the diet on the health of the public.

It has been stressed, among other things, that the rule adopted in Poland requiring one gram of protein for each kilogram of a person's weight is slightly higher than that recommended by the World Health Organization. So far the average Polish citizen has been guaranteed this amount. However, it is believed that the recent deterioration in the standard of living has had an adverse effect on the protein consumption of persons in the lowest income bracket.

ANDREI MEETS PCE LEADER IGLESIAS IN MADRID

AU221510 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1454 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Madrid AGERPRES 22/2/1984 -- Messages of salute were exchanged between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, and Gerardo Iglesias, secretary-general of the Communist Party of Spain (PCE) during an interview in Madrid between Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs, and the Spanish Communist leader.

The PCE secretary-general was conveyed a warm friendly salute, as well as best wishes on behalf of Nicolae Ceausescu. Gerardo Iglesias requested that the RCP general secretary should be conveyed warm greetings and cordial wishes of good health and further successes in the activity carried on for the benefit of the Romanian people, of the cause of peace, progress and understanding in the world.

The interview occasioned an exchange of information on the activity of the RCP and of the PCE and on the further development of the fine relations of friendship between the two parties.

AVRAM, AUSTRIAN TRADE OFFICIAL SIGN PROTOCOL

AU222029 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1953 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Vienna AGERPRES 22/2/1984 -- The seventh session was held in Vienna of the Joint Romanian-Austrian Governmental Commission of Economic Collaboration and Industrial and Technological Cooperation.

In keeping with the understandings reached at top level, the joint wish was stressed to make the Romanian-Austrian economic relations see an ascending and balanced course. New domains and actions were analysed and set apt to diversify commercial exchanges and economic cooperation bilaterally and on third markets. The determination of the two sides was also underlined to make steady efforts for the materialization of an as large number of cooperation ventures as possible now in an advanced stage of negotiations.

At the end of the proceedings the session's protocol was signed by Ion Avram, minister of the machine-building industry of Romania, co-chairman of the commission, and by Erich Schmidt, minister secretary of state in the Federal Ministry for Trade, Commerce and Industry, co-chairman of the commission.

The chairman for Romania of the commission also conducted talks with the vice-chancellor of the Republic of Austria, Norbert Steger, minister of trade, commerce and industry, with the ministers of agriculture and forestry, and of transport, as well as with representatives of economic and trading circles. It was assessed that the economies of the two countries, their industrial and technical-scientific potential provided best conditions for mutually advantageous amplification of economic relations, of cooperation in production and collaboration on third markets.

RCP DELEGATION MEETS BELGIAN WALLOON SOCIALISTS

AU221502 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1423 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Brussels, AGERPRES 22/2/1984 -- A delegation of the RCP, led by Dumitru Popescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, are paying a visit to Belgium at the invitation of the Socialist Party -- the French-speaking and Flemish wings.

The delegation had an interview with the president of the Socialist Party-French-speaking wing, Guy Spitaels, as well as with other members of that party's leadership.

Salutes were exchanged on the occasion between the RCP general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the president of the Socialist Party-French-speaking. Both sides expressed their wish to expand and intensify the relations between the two parties, and voiced their resolve to work for the strengthening of the collaboration between Romania and Belgium and of the friendship between the two peoples.

Aspects of the international situation were also approached, with emphasis on the stringent need to rally the efforts of all states and peoples, of all progressive and democratic forces with a view to intensifying the fight for halting the dangerous course of international events as well as the arms race, for achieving a passage to disarmament, to nuclear disarmament in the first place, for ensuring each nation's free and independent development.

PARLIAMENTARIANS CONDUCT TALKS IN DENMARK

AU221251 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1211 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Copenhagen AGERPRES 22/2/1984 -- An exchange of messages between President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and Queen Margrethe II of Denmark was occasioned by the call paid in Copenhagen on Danish Prime Minister Poul Schluter by a Romainan parliamentary delegation headed by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly now on an official visit of friendship to that country, invited by the Folketing. A cordial message of salute from the Romanian president was conveyed to the Danish premier on the occasion.

Appreciating the ascending course of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries, during the interview both sides pointed to the special importance of the official visit paid to Denmark by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu, that opened wide prospects to expanding and diversifying the bilateral mutually advantageous cooperation, to the interest of both peoples. They pointed out the resolve of the sides to work for amplification on multiple planes of the bilateral relations, and stressed the need for efforts to be intensified in view of developing a climate of peace, understanding and collaboration in Europe and throughout the world.

NIN ON CHANGE IN USSR LEADERSHIP, CHERNENKO

AU221659 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 84 No 1729 pp 35-36

["Special article for NIN" by POLITIKA's Moscow correspondent Dusan Pesic: "Soviet Union: Which Way From Here"]

[Excerpts] The premature death of Yuriy Andropov who died on 9 February has brought a change in the highest Soviet leadership. Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, age 73, has been elected general secretary. Expressing his gratitude for the trust shown to him, he delivered a speech at the extraordinary session of the Central Committee in which it is possible to sense his ideas and views about the movement of Soviet society and which thereby also provide some elements of an answer to the question that posed itself in the hour when the news of Andropov's death circled the world, the question: Which way from here?

Naturally, it is too early and it would be a thankless task at present to make any kind of long-term forecasts. What the general secretary said at the plenum indicates that he has decided in favor of further developing the initiatives and ideas which the party has taken and adopted during the past year in seeking "ways of perfecting the developed real socialism" and strengthening the unity and collective spirit of leadership.

Andropov wanted to simultaneously move the ideological and the economic initiatives, interweaving them wisely and in a statesmanlike way and making them mutually interdependent. He considered increased labor productivity and strengthened discipline and responsibility, especially the strengthened responsibility of leaders, to be the motive force in the economy. The granting of greater independence to enterprises, on which a law was adopted in June, was intended to strengthen initiative and responsibility but, as it has always been particularly emphasized, initiative and responsibility within the inviolable framework of centralized economic planning and management. In his very first statement as general secretary, Konstantin Chernenko supported this thesis and, it can be said, even "sharpened" it somewhat. He said: "Our entire system of economic management and our entire economic mechanism demand a serious reorganization. The work in this connection has only just begun and it involves a wide economic experiment of broadening the rights and increasing the responsibility of enterprises."

Handing Over the Policy

As can be seen, Chernenko favors a cautious approach and thorough experimentation but, at the same time, he condemns the passive attitude of many economic leaders who, as he says, hide their adherence to the old work style behind the mask of waiting for the results of the experiment. If "Andropov's program" and "Chernenko's program" may be compared, then it can be said at this time that there is a link of continuity in "handing over the policy," as the general secretary himself has said, in which realism, as seen in the Soviet way, is dominant. It can be assumed that Chernenko will be stricter and "more rigid" in the field of ideology, which has been his specialty in the Politburo until now, and more cautious in the economic field, but that he will not essentially change the basic course adopted by the preceding plenums under Andropov's leadership, the plenums which undoubtedly brought a fresh breeze to Soviet political and economic life.

The truth most probably is that the conclusions reached by Andropov and now accepted in principle by Chernenko are the result of the needs and requirements of objective social development and of the fact that, during Brezhnev's time, the system reached a point of development after which, to put it most mildly, reorganizations are necessary if any further progress is wanted.

If this is a correct conclusion, then it is clear that nothing but a collective leadership, especially as regards the Politburo, is possible at this time. Overemphasizing the importance of one or another personality or some kind of a "power struggle" in the highest party leadership would lead to wrong conclusions. There have been certain views and indications that, at certain times, Andropov's reformist spirit, especially in relation to the cadre changes in and rejuvenation of the middle-level leading structures, to some extent alarmed and frightened that stratum of the party. Many foreign observers see in Chernenko's election the influence of that part of the party apparatus which allegedly favors a "more tranquil movement." It is impossible to definitely verify this conclusion but, at the same time, it should not be completely rejected because, as we have seen Chernenko himself pointed out, among economic leaders there are noticeable reservations about innovations.

There were rumors that the new general secretary would be chosen from among the younger Politburo members such as Romanov, Gorbachev, or Vorotnikov. However, considering all the existing circumstances and feelings in the party structures, those who are well acquainted with the situation here consider Chernenko's election more logical on the assumption that close cooperation will be established between him and Gromyko and Ustinov ensuring continuity, whereas a rapid rejuvenation would perhaps cause unrest in the party apparatus which finds -- as this is said -- a "balanced equilibrium" the most suitable.

Naturally, despite all the collective spirit, the general secretary inevitably makes a certain personal imprint on the rhythm of movement, the social development, and the entire political climate. What can be expected from Konstantin Chernenko in this field? The new general secretary is an exceptionally experienced party leader. He was one of Leonid Brezhnev's closest associates and was able in close proximity to observe, participate in, and influence the formation of policies. He also cooperated with Andropov. It remains to be seen which of these two personalities has influenced him more strongly and whose experience he will value more highly. Continuity has been accepted as the orientation, but the general secretary undoubtedly influences the speed of the movement and its possible modulations.

Dialogue By the Bier

Recently, the world was understandably most interested in the further orientation of Soviet foreign policy and asked the expected question of whether there will be any important changes in this field. Everything that Gromyko and Chernenko have said recently about foreign policy points to a continuity also in this sphere, but a continuity taking circumstances into consideration and accompanied by milder tones in the appraisals of the opposite side and a strong emphasis on Soviet readiness to establish contact and begin negotiations. Naturally, nothing will come easily because the gap of mistrust, primarily between Moscow and Washington, is still wide. Nevertheless, it does seem as though something has moved from the impasse.

PLANINC MEETS AL-QADHDHAFI, CONCLUDES LIBYA VISIT

Last Day Activities

LD221448 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0900 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Tripoli, February 22 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc is today, Wednesday, to tour Misratah, some 200 km from Tripoli, where Yugoslav enterprises are building a large port.

She will lay a cornerstone inaugurating work on the second phase of the port, including a breakwater. The project, entrusted to the inland waterways and engineering enterprise Ivan Milutinovic (PIM) of Belgrade as the chief contractor, is worth 280 million dollars.

Later in the day, the [word indistinct] round of the Yugoslav-Libyan talks will be held and a number of documents signed, including an agreement in the field of information.

The Yugoslav-Libyan Committee for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation will also end its work today.

The Yugoslav delegation today ends its three-day official and friendly visit to Libya.

Talks With Al-Qadhdhafi

LD222125 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1950 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Tripoli, 22 Feb (TANJUG) -- Tonight, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, the Libyan leader, received Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, at the end of her 3-day official and friendly visit to Libya.

Their conversation, which took place under the traditional tent pitched in the grounds of Al-Qadhdhafi's private residence and which was marked by a cordial and friendly atmosphere, was also attended by Zivorad Kovacevic, member of the Federal Executive Council; Mirko Ostojic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs; Vuko Dragasevic, SFRY ambassador to Libya; and Dragoljub Kontic, foreign affairs adviser to the president of the Federal Executive Council.

During his conversation with Milka Planinc, which lasted for nearly an hour, Colonel al-Qadhdhafi conveyed greetings to Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, and to Presidency members. Satisfaction was expressed on both sides with the successful development of friendship and cooperation between Yugoslavia and Libya in all fields. The Libyan leader expressed the conviction that Milka Planinc's visit and the talks held during it would give a fresh impetus to this.

Al-Qadhdhafi and Milka Planinc also talked about the most important questions of topical international relations, including the further activity of the Nonaligned Movement. Particular attention was devoted to the difficult situation in economic relations and the need for greater cooperation among developing countries, which have been heavily hit by the current world economic crisis.

Al-Qadhdhafi's wife Sophia later joined them in order to greet Comrade Milka Planinc.

Economic, Scientific Protocol

LD222135 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1857 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Tripoli, February 22 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia and Libya have come out for the further promotion of bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

The protocol which determines the modalities of cooperation was signed this evening (Wednesday) in Tripoli at the end of a regular session of the Yugoslav-Libyan committee for economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

The signing of the protocol was attended by Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc, who this evening ends a three-day visit to Libya, and Secretary of the Libyan General People's Congress Muhammad az-Zarruq Rajab.

The committee emphasized in particular the importance of technology transfer, the training of staff and the development of advanced forms of cooperation between the two countries.

The committee established that the possibility exists for Yugoslav firms to win new contracts in Libya where some [words indistinct] Yugoslavs are currently working on various projects.

Agreement on Information

LD230044 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2051 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Tripoli, 22 Feb (TANJUG) -- A Yugoslav-Libyan agreement on cooperation in the sphere of information, signed in Tripoli tonight, is expected to create conditions favorable for keeping Yugoslav citizens better informed about Libya's internal developments and Libyans about developments in Yugoslavia.

Among other things, the agreement envisages the establishment of direct contacts and the creation of various forms of cooperation between the information media ranging from the TANJUG and JANA news agencies and radio and television to newspaper publishing houses and journalists' organizations in the two countries. The agreement also covers exchange of experiences, training of cadres, exchange of visits between journalists and so forth.

The exchange of newspapers, periodicals, and books is also envisaged.

The agreement was signed by the cochairmen of the joint Yugoslav-Libyan Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, Zivorad Kovacevic, member of the Federal Executive Council, and Fawzi al-Shakshuki, secretary of the General People's Committee for Planning. The signing was attended by Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, at the end of her visit to Libya, and Muhammad az-Zarruq Rajab, secretary of the General People's Committee.

Departure From Tripoli

LD230034 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2100 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Tripoli, February 22 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc concluded her three-day official and friendly visit to Libya this evening, Wednesday, and with members of the Yugoslav delegation left for Belgrade.

Secretary of the Libyan General People's Committee Muhammad az-Zarruq Rajab saw off Premier Planinc at Tripoli Airport.

Practically all Libyan Government members were also present, as well as Yugoslav Ambassador to Libya Vuko Dragasevic and the embassy staff.

Return to Belgrade

LD230036 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2205 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Feb (TANJUG) -- Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, returned to Belgrade from Tripoli with her aides tonight after a 3-day official and friendly visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah [SPLAJ].

Milka Planinc visited Tripoli at the invitation of Muhammad az-Zarruq Rajab, secretary of the SPLAJ General People's Committee, with whom she had a broad exchange of views on bilateral relations and cooperation and on topical international issues.

A joint communique on the talks held in the SPLAJ during the visit paid by Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, will be published in Belgrade and Tripoli tomorrow.

At Belgrade airport in Surcin, Milka Planinc and her aides were met and greeted by Zvone Dragan, vice president of the Federal Executive Council; Zoran Miskovic, secretary general of the Federal Executive Council, and Jelko Blazevic, under secretary of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs; and others, as well as by Bashir Abu Bakr Musbah, diplomatic representative of the SPLAJ in Belgrade.

Statement on Visit

LD230244 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2325 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Feb (TANJUG) -- "I am very pleased with my visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah," Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, stated on her return to Belgrade from Tripoli.

In a statement for Yugoslav press, radio, and television, Milka Planinc further said: "This has been my first visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, with which we have deep ties of friendship. Our two countries are interested in further developing political and economic cooperation. We talked with numerous responsible figures in this friendly and nonaligned country and these meetings were made complete today by an audience with Colonel al-Qadhdhafi."

Milka Planinc went on to add that all the Libyan officials whom she had met were happy and ready to maintain continued cooperation both between the two countries and through the two countries' activity in the Nonaligned Movement and the international scene.

The exchange of views included topical international issues and current problems of economic development. In this connection, the president of the Federal Executive Council stressed that readiness was expressed during the talks in Tripoli to search for ways and methods in the present complex international situation, when the economic crisis was hitting all the countries of the world, not only to increase Yugoslav-Libyan exchange but also to raise it to the level of higher-quality and longer-term cooperation.

During the meeting with Al-Qadhdhafi, too, a variety of topics were discussed and, most important of all, readiness was expressed to further promote cooperation between the two countries. Milka Planinc also mentioned the new port project in Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, to be built by a Yugoslav enterprise, and meetings with our workers who live and work in this friendly and nonaligned country.

PLANINC CONGRATULATES LIBYA'S RAJAB ON NEW POST

AU221827 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, has sent a telegram of congratulations to Muhammad az-Zarruq Rajab on his appointment as secretary of the General People's Committee of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

MOJSOV DEPARTS NEW ZEALAND FOLLOWING VISIT

LD221456 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1040 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Text] Auckland, February 22 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Lazar Mojsov today left from Auckland after a three-day official visit to New Zealand at the invitation of New Zealand Foreign Minister Warren Cooper. New Zealand political circles assess Mojsov's visit and talks he had with top government and parliament functionaries as important, particularly so the exchange of views on possibilities for promoting economic relations between Yugoslavia and New Zealand. In this readiness was expressed in Wellington, just as it was already done in Canberra, to introduce radical changes in at present unfavourable trends for Yugoslavia in trade between the two countries. Yugoslavia's position regarding solutions to many global problems which have been discussed in both countries, encountered full understanding and approval, in keeping naturally, with certain existing differences in the countries' diverse social systems.

Lazar Mojsov issued an invitation to the foreign ministers of both Australia and New Zealand to visit Yugoslavia. The invitations were accepted with pleasure as a further opportunity to undertake a joint examination of world problems and continue endeavours to promote bilateral relations. Both in Australia and New Zealand, Mojsov and his colleagues had cordial meetings with representatives of Yugoslav emigrants who showed that they have not forgotten the old country and that, the majority of them, in these far-off countries are good ambassadors for Yugoslavia.

MARKOVSKI MEETS FINNISH LEADERS, ENDS VISIT

AU221506 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 84 p 5

[Text] Helsinki -- Krste Markovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, has concluded a visit of several days to Finland, where he held separate talks with members of the leaderships of the Finnish Communist Party, the Finnish People's Democratic League, and the Finnish Social Democratic Party.

After his talks in the Finnish Communist Party headquarters, Krste Markovski met with Erkki Liikanen, general secretary of the Social Democratic Party, and with his associates. In this first official contact between the LCY and the Social Democratic Party of Finland, views were exchanged on the current international situation and on the latest trends in the international workers movement. The two sides also acquainted each other with domestic developments in Yugoslavia and Finland.

MILATOVIC DEPARTS FOR LATIN AMERICA TOUR

AU221829 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Feb 84 p 2

[Text] Veljko Milatovic, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, yesterday left on a visit to Nicaragua, Panama, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, and Mexico. He will have talks in these countries with representatives of those parties with which the LCY cooperates.

SPILJAK MEETS NEW ENVOY TO IRAQ BEFORE DEPARTURE

AU221711 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Feb 84 p 7

[Text] Belgrade -- Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency, yesterday received Dzevad Mujezinovic, newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFRY to the Republic of Iraq, prior to his departure for duty.

MILATOVIC ON LCY FAILURE TO ADAPT TO CONDITIONS

AU211520 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Feb 84 p 2

[Interview granted by Veljko Milatovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to Slobodan Vujica -- place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Vujica] You said recently that the LCY has adapted itself least to new conditions.

[Milatovic] It has been evident that the LCY, as an ideopolitical organization of the workers class and society, a revolutionary organization, failed to successfully adapt its role and work methods to the conditions of the branched mechanism of self-management and decisionmaking and to the pluralism of self-managing interests on the basis of the well-known orientations formulated at the sixth congress, and later completely elaborated in the LCY Program. That is why it has failed to sufficiently enable itself to realize its revolutionary role in present conditions.

Political Monopoly

[Vujica] Are you talking about no adaptation or about insufficient adaptation?

[Milatovic] One could even say that the LCY has adapted itself less than any other political organization or institution. Hence, a paradoxical situation that the LCY itself is "powerful" to the same extent as the state itself is "powerful." In reality, it is powerful to the same extent as the workers class is powerful, and the working man, in deciding on essential questions of work and life in the socioeconomic and political spheres.

[Vujica] Now we come to the well-known assessment that the LCY most frequently acts relying on the authority -- the state -- and through forums at that.

[Milatovic] I would not elaborate this further. The LCY in many aspects has kept the characteristics of a party in power, a leading party in a one-party system. The LCY, or, to be more accurate, its forums, keep the position of political monopoly. The main force they rely on is not the workers class and the workers but the state or, to be more precise, the administrative apparatus -- from management organs in associated labor to executive organs in communes, republics, and the Federation. It is on this basis that the links become firmer between political and state bureaucracy and technocratic forces, as well as those well-known links upon which statism is being maintained and sometimes even strengthened, and at all levels at that.

Hence, the domination of the political factor in our country, in all spheres, ignoring the laws of the development of society and pushing the initiatives and creativity of the widest layers of society, workers class, working people, and science to the background.

[Vujica] Let us go back to the question of power and powerlessness.

[Milatovic] Neither self-management nor the program of its further development can be realized if the state has the decisive role. The state cannot be the basic force for the development of self-management or the main channel of coordinating self-managing interests. This can only be associated labor, the organized workers class, working people in general, and their action.

The LCY, the Socialist Alliance, and all its sociopolitical organizations, instead of relying on the workers class and the working man as the basic driving force and the basic force of socialist changes, are eclipsed by the state and act as an instrument of state organs, their policy, and measures. The consequences of this are the flood of normativism, reaching for right instruments and institutional solutions, and the belief that the contradictions and problems of our development can be most successfully solved with these means. This is why certain legislative and normative solutions push aside the LCY Program which anticipates our future development, the LCY's main directions of activity, and its role.

The danger arises exactly from the fact that hopes are placed more and more in the state and its organs, and it is expected that the state will succeed in taking us out of present difficulties and change things for the better. It looks as though this tendency is becoming stronger. If this continues, it could lead us to further spreading state interventionism, return us to the relations we have already overcome, and carry us further from our aim, which is to develop self-management relying upon the workers class and its mobilization, together with firm connections of the LCY with it.

From Where the Powerlessness of the State Comes

[Vujica] But the state is also powerless.

[Milatovic] There is much talk nowadays about the state being powerless. However, this does not result from the fact that the state and state organs' functions are small and that there is not an abundance of state measures. On the contrary, the functions of the state are being constantly reproduced and its measures multiplied. However, powerlessness or, to put it better, inefficiency appears all the time. This results from the fact that relying mostly on the state and its interventions, one cannot successfully develop self-management and change the present unfavorable situation in relations in society.

[Vujica] Let us go back to the question on the role of the LCY political organization, its avant-gardism.

[Milatovic] The LCY, however "unified" and "pure" it may be, cannot be a basic or a decisive force that by itself or through the state changes the existing situation. This would be pure idealistic subjectivism that favors the strengthening of the positions of the political factor, a political monopoly. This is very present in the mind of the LCY, its cadres actually, which objectively favors the domination of the political factor, bureaucratization, and the strengthening of tendencies of party political pluralism.

[Vujica] Hence comes the tendency to keep things under "control," to ensure influence, primarily through communists, through cadres in certain institutions.

[Milatovic] The necessity for the presence of communists in all mechanisms in society and for their influence on all that happens is not open to question. One can only ask in what way and from which ideopolitical positions party members, primarily cadres, exert influence, what interests and solutions they advocate.

There is no state, parastate, political or social institution or organization where members of the LCY fail to hold dominant positions. You should look at the composition of all political forums and state organs at all levels and their way of working. This shows that the LCY ensures its role and influence mostly through "personal presence."

Let us take the example of the composition of committees and their presidiums in republics, provinces, and communes. As a rule, all leading cadres of the state and political organizations are represented in them. Where this is not the case, there are attempts to compensate by holding expanded and joint sessions with all these leading cadres attending them, and so everything is concentrated in a way.

In this way, and with the aforementioned connections with the state, an illusion is created that the leading ideopolitical role of the LCY has been ensured. This in effect has negative consequences: It leads to separation from the workers class and working people, to bureaucratization in the LCY and the state.

Ideological "Jumble"

[Vujica] Here we come to the question of the relationship between order and movement, the inevitable critical distance between the LCY and the existing situation. It is not infrequent that the LCY, opposing the criticism of everything existing, comes to the danger of defending everything existing.

[Milatovic] We should not fall prey to the illusion that the LCY is ideopolitically united in everything or that the democratic relations within it are at an enviable level. From this and from what has been said, it is not difficult to deduce why the LCY -- or better, its forums or groups of individuals from its ranks -- sometimes manifest themselves as fierce defenders of the existing "state of affairs."

[Vujica] How do we bring about a situation in which the LC as a revolutionary organization, defending the achievements of socialist self-management and democracy, will be critical and initiate changes so that matters may change for the better?

[Milatovic] The workers class is neither historically nor specifically interested in preserving the status quo, but in changing sociopolitical relations to benefit the development of socialist self-management and democracy, and a dominant role of associated labor. Consequently, the LCY can implement its role and encourage and ideologically direct actions -- the aim of which is to change the existing situation and not to defend it -- only if it predominantly relies on the workers class and the working people and fights bureaucratization and ideological "jumble" in its own ranks.

[Vujica] It seems to us that this is the reason for the significance and topicality of the more and more frequent requests that the LCY and, above all, its forums should more resolutely cut their links with the centers of power.

[Milatovic] In order for the LCY to play the role which it had at some earlier stages of the revolutionary development and which is set out in its program, it must focus its activities in two directions: within society and within its ranks. In society, it should direct them toward developing socialist self-managing democracy together with the workers class and working people within the SAWP and all self-managing organisms. In its ranks, it should direct them through a democratization of relations, expanding the role of members at the expense of the forums, and overcoming the ideological "jumble" and elements of a party coalition.

[Vujica] The democratization of relations is a wider problem. How much of this is it possible to achieve without opening up party debates on the most important problems of our development? But there are no such discussions, even when there is a broad lack of understanding or even confrontation in the LCY itself on some problems.

[Milatovic] To open public discussion on all big problems is certainly one of the most powerful instruments in the development of democratic relations and unity in the LCY and for a greater utilization of the creative potential, particularly when there is disagreement and even confrontation in the LCY. Discussions should be open on all problems on the solution of which depends whether we, the LCY, will be united or not and whether the LCY will be able to realize its role in society as a revolutionary political organization.

Elements of Coalition

[Vujica] The question of unity in the LCY is at the center of attention. One talks much about unity, or more precisely, disunity. On one occasion, you said that the LCY is assuming the forms of a coalition party and now you are stressing it again. Party federalism in its ranks is being criticized. It is pointed out that its ties to the state, especially in the republics, are a significant cause of our encapsulations and divisions. What could you say about this?

[Milatovic] You demand many answers with one question. According to its program and statute, the LCY is a united ideopolitical organization. But in its ranks, as I have said, there are several elements of a coalition party.

Precisely unity on program provisions and ideological starting points for action is most essential for the level of unity of an organization like the LCY. This unity is based on the united interests of the workers class and on scientific socialism-Marxism.

When one approaches the question of unity in such a way, it cannot be built only through an emphasis on the organizational-statutory and disciplinary provisions, one-sidedly concentrated on the principles of democratic centralism. In that case, the main thing -- the class and scientific foundations on which unity is being built -- would be pushed aside.

[Vujica] One could actually say that three blocs of consciousness exist in the LCY: the self-managing, the dogmatist, and the bourgeois.

[Milatovic] Socialist self-management is our basic program guideline which has also been built into our constitutional principles. It is becoming more and more the property of the widest strata of the workers class and the working people. Of course, it is pushing through with difficulty. We have already spoken about the reasons.

Bearing in mind the significance of the political factor in our society, including the role of the LCY and its "personal presence," it is especially important what consciousness and ideological currents are present among the membership, and especially the cadres of the LCY.

In the LCY, in the consciousness of the widest membership, and especially the cadres, beliefs and starting points of idealistic subjectivism, pragmatism, and positivism are widespread. Marxism does not dominate the consciousness. This is reflected in the situation within the LCY, in the implementation of its role, and in the methods of work, too. This forces the LCY to continue to work predominantly from positions of power, along with the links mentioned above, on behalf of the workers class but, in fact, above the workers class.

This idealistic subjectivism is rather strongly present in the consciousness and practice of the cadres in political structures, and this affects the behavior of the state and managing organs and political organizations.

I think that we have failed in a great part of the LCY to fundamentally settle accounts with the subjectivism of a dogmatic type or with the ideological stands that are characteristic of rightist, very conservative, and reactionary bourgeois doctrines.

The fact that such ideological currents exist in the LCY urgently stresses the need for the ideological training of the LCY and its members and the importance of a debate -- what we have already mentioned. However, we either do not have this or it is insufficient.

Without Hierarchy

[Vujica] You especially point out and warn of the danger of subjectivism. Could you expound on this?

[Milatovic] There is a belief and a practice that if Communists were well organized, they "could do everything" themselves. Does it not remind one of the doctrine that "Communists are people of an unusual mold" who "can perform everything"? Observing international experience regarding the development of socialism, have authoritarian regimes not been created in the name of such a stand and such a doctrine?

[Vujica] Let us go back to the criticism of the federalization of the LCY as a unified revolutionary organization.

[Milatovic] When one in our country discusses questions on disunity and the weakening of the cohesive power of the LCY, the greatest emphasis is usually placed upon the independence of republican and provincial organizations. Sources of disunity do not lie in the existence of national parties, although their independent position is sometimes wrongly understood. As I already said, the reason for this lies primarily in the links and identification of the LCY with the state and the state structures and in the coalition-like elements that are present in the LCY, as well as in the existence of the awareness of different ideological starting points that do not originate from the socialist self-management production relation, the (ideology of) the workers class, and scientific socialism.

This is exactly why it happens that certain LCY organizations or, more precisely, their leaderships advocate and defend the interests of "their state," "their nation," or "their community" and become prisoners of pragmatic calculations or subjectivist idealist fictions and unitarianism.

Reducing the character of LCY unity to the question of mutual relations as the main question means reducing it to the question of hierarchical relations among its forums, to the question whether the federal center or those in republics and provinces will have more power.

It is within this framework that one can talk about the "federalization" of the LCY.

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES 'POLITICIZATION' REJECTED

LD171922 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1551 GMT 17 Feb 84

[Text] Zagreb, 17 Feb (TANJUG) -- The trend of politicizing religious communities, and in Zagreb particularly the Catholic Church, is intensifying beyond dispute. What one has in mind primarily in this context is a section of the clergy and its heirarchy and the organization of religious communities. As a social community, we must demonstrate much patience in overcoming such a situation. We must also be resolute in detecting and exposing everything which we as society cannot accept and we must be principled and firm in this.

These assessments were presented by Gjekoslav Koprivnjak, member of the Presidium of the Zagreb LC City Committee, at today's session of the Commission for Ideotheoretical Work and Information of the city committee. The session discussed the ideopolitical aspects of religion and the activity of religious communities.

Recalling that the LC attitude toward religion is clear and unambiguous and that our orientation is not a kind of militant atheism, though some are trying to provide precisely such tones to the discussion, Koprivnjak said that when the chances of every citizen to pursue social activity, to progress and such are at stake, the decisive criterion must be his ability, skills, readiness for social involvement in matters of socialist self-management, and the attitude toward the fundamental values of our society. It is a bad thing, Koprivnjak says, that we have adopted the term citizen-beliver, which has been imposed on us and which leads to differentiating between citizens and self-managers on the basis of religion or atheism. This is something that our basic documents neither know of nor allow.

Koprivnjak went on to say that the debate is often imposed as to whether believers can be members of the League of Communists. What is evident here is the tendency to change the LCY Program. But there is more. By demanding on behalf of so-called realism that LC members be able to practice religion and that believers be permitted to be admitted to the LC, the attempt is made to stress that the LC is the only relevant political factor in our society through which serious influence can be exerted on social relations. In other words, if we want to democratize society it is also necessary to enable believers to become members of the LC. In this way, one aims directly at the attitude of the LC being a force outside and above the political system, Koprivnjak stressed.

The other consequence of this is that the political system of socialist self-management and its institutions are in fact not recognized -- the delegate system and the broadest possible organization of citizens and working people through Socialist Alliance, the Trade Union Federation, the Socialist Youth Federation, and other sociopolitical organizations. The demand for believers to join the LC, particularly on the basis of the reasoning of religious papers -- GLAS KONCILA and PRAVOSLAVLJE -- objectively represents underrating and lack of recognition of the structure of the political system of socialist self-management.

Koprivnjak went on to say that the politicization of the Catholic Church is also reflected in its very extensive activity of strengthening lay organizations and he also pointed out the fact that GLAS KONCILA has practically and tacitly acquired the position of acting first as a political organ and only after that as a religious organ. It has become a constant practice for the commentaries of the paper to react to and to enter into polemics with public and sociopolitical workers and in this, the paper constantly insists on its own concept of an "alternative" to society's development.

Koprivnjak ended with the assessment that the LC has taken a further step in training for action in this sphere but that it is necessary to expand this action and make it more incisive. He recalled that the attitude that the Socialist Alliance has to be the place where policy with regard to religious communities is determined, has not been realized. The activity of SAWP must be far broader than it has been up to now and this is becoming the immediate and foremost political task. The activity of the Church toward young people calls for a far more organized action by the Socialist Youth Federation not in order to practice militant atheism, because this is not our attitude toward religion, but in order to rally and organize the young generation on the course of the struggle for socialist society and to clearly determine in this context the need for the young to disassociate themselves from everything which is reactionary and conservative as a political attitude and as a political alternative.

Taking part in the debate, Dr Stipe Suvar, member of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium, stressed that the focus of the LC action should be provided by demonstrating, proving, and interpreting the fact that religious communities do not have, but are increasingly usurping, political functions and that they want to impose themselves as political representatives though they have no right to do so according to the Constitution and the laws.

Religious communities are trying to convince us that they are not engaged in this though there is proof every day that they are engaging in aggressive political activity. It is important for us to demonstrate in social life that we do not divide people into those who believe and those who do not. The only exception is the LC for whose members we demand that they accept the Marxist view of the world as a scientific view. We do not consider the religious view to be scientific and thus LC members cannot actively practice religion.

Suvar noted in conclusion that in our country militant atheism was not at work but that we do face militant theism.

In the extensive debate, several evident tendencies, particularly in the Catholic Church but which also apply to the Orthodox and Islamic religious community, were pointed out. One of them is to stress a particular national affiliation and in this context it is stressed that our social system does not stress the nation sufficiently and that it does not provide any opportunities for this.

Such an orientation by the church suits various nationalists. The church makes use of a certain stagnation in the efficiency of the socialist self-managing model and adopts the position of a critic of society, without any responsibility.

The main elements in overcoming such a situation must be sociopolitical activity by all organized socialist forces and greater efficiency of our system.

KOSOVO PRESIDENCY VIEWS ALBANIAN IRREDENTISM

LD222336 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1757 GMT 22 Feb 84

[Excerpts] Pristina, 22 Feb (TANJUG) -- At its session today, the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo (presided over by Sefcet Jasari) examined certain questions relating to the position of workers from the province temporarily employed abroad.

The Kosovo Presidency assessed that greater cooperation is essential, as is the coordination of the activities of the organs and organizations of the province with those of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Federation.

It is further reported that the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo also examined certain questions relating to the struggle against the enemy from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism. It was assessed that enemy activity by Albanian nationalists and irredentists is waning in comparison with the earlier period, but that greater involvement of all subjective forces at all levels is needed. In the struggle against enemy activity and for stabilizing the political-security situation in the province, the security organs and other subjects of social self-protection have achieved important results.

BRIEFS

SERB SAWP CANDIDATES -- Belgrade, 22 Feb (TANJUG) -- In its session today the Presidium of the Serb SAWP Conference proposed Dr Slobodan Gligorijevic as the candidate for the office of president of the Serb Assembly. The Presidium also proposed Milutin Milosevic and Borislav Jovic as candidates for the office of vice president of the Serb Assembly. Milan Dragovic was proposed as president of the Sociopolitical Chamber, Petar Jovanovic as president of the Chamber of Municipalities, and Djordje Jankovic as president of the Chamber of Associated Labor of the Serb Assembly. In addition, the Presidium approved the proposal that Zika Radojlovic be elected president of the republican conference of the SAWP of Serbia during the next 1-year period. The final decision on this will be made by the republican conference of the Serb SAWP. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 22 Feb 84 LD]